

The Jesuist Uncas'd,

IN A

DIALOGUE

Betwixt

RICHARD

AND

BAXTER,

With a

MODERATOR

Between Them,

For QUIETNESSE Sake.

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By Roger L'Estrange.

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The Second Edition.

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LONDON,

Printed for H. Brome at the Signe of the Gun  
in S. Pauls Church-yard. 1680.

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# THE P R E F A C E.

**L**est the Title of this Book should betray any man into the Reading of it, upon an Expectation of Farce, and Fooling; This is (in Limine) to give Notice, that it will be just so much Time and Money cast away, as shall be laid out upon it, in That Consideration. Not but that This Subject might do well enough in a Comical Dresse; but however, out of a Respect, partly to the Person, and partly to the Calling of Mr. Baxter, I have overcome the Temptation, of giving either the Reader, or my Self that sort of Diversion. And to say the Truth; It is not a Laughing matter, the spectacle of a man Labouring under Contradictions, and Inconsistencies with himself. But if Richard will be Quarrelling with Baxter, and Baxter stand pointing at Richard; and be still giving it out, like Gladiators, in their Printed Bills, that upon such a day, At the Three Cocks at the West End of St. Pauls, or at the Princes Arms in Ludgate-street, there will be plaid a Tryall of Skill betwixt Richard and Baxter, at such and such Questions, and Weapons; Who (I say) can help it? For there is no Enmity, ~~so~~ Mortall, as when a man falls out with himself.

But what? (You'le say) If a body happens to tread upon his own Toes, must every false step that he makes be presently exposed to the Publique? No, not in any wise, unlesse where the Vindication of the Publique shall make it Absolutely Necessary. As for Instance; I can hardly call to mind any one piece of Mr. Baxters, without some bitter passage or other in it, of derision upon the Government, or the Rites of the Church. What can be more Reasonable now, then to confront him with Himself: and to oppose Mr. Baxter the Divine, to Mr. Baxter the Polititian; the man of Love, Order, and Truth, to the man of Wrath, Confusion and Paradox? When I see him sporting himself in his Altitudes upon the Text of his Own, and the Presbyterians Loyalty; with his wonted declamatory Reproaches

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upon the Manners, as well as the Services of the Royal Party. What can I do better, then to face him with the Acts of the Assembly, and the Proceedings of the Two Houses, to the Contrary? And to produce his own Act and Deed in evidence against his Profession? On the One hand, you have Mr. Baxter valuing himself upon his Principles of Loyalty, and Obedience; And on the Other hand, you have the very same Mr. Baxter, (according to the Outward Man) not only pleading the Cause, but Celebrating the Justice, and Canonizing (as in his *Saints Rest*, Pa. 101. of the Old Editions) the Prime Directors and Instruments of The Late Rebellion: Asserting the very Doctrine of Those Positions, whereupon it was founded. When Mr. Baxter Sets up for a Toleration; what can be fairer then to shew him his own Arguments against it? Or to ask him, how HE, (a kinde of Heteroclit in his opinions,) that has Chalk'd out so singular a Plat-Form of Church-Regiment to himself, comes now to be a Common Advocate for all the Dissenting Parties? Take him in One Mood, (as in his Five Disputations, and elsewhere) and he tells ye, that a Diocesan Prelacy is plainly Antichristian, and Intolerable. And yet in his Non-Conformists Plea, and other parts of his Writings, he tells ye again, that the Nonconformists would have submitted to it. Now if the Constitution was so Abominable, why should they submit to it? And if it was not so, why does Mr. Baxter say that it was? And why does he still persist, in Debauching and Alienating the hearts of the People from their Rulers, in matters which he himself acknowledges to be Warrantable, and Established by Law? And so for our Liturgy and Ceremonies, he's at the same Variance with himself, about the Lawfulnessse, or Unlawfulnessse of Those Points also.

Now since Mr. Baxter has been pleased to take upon himself, the Patronage of the Non-Conformists Cause, and to put forth his Plea, and his Plea again for That Interest; what can be more Obliging then to take him at his word, and consider him under the Publick Character of Their Representative? At This Rate, Mr. Baxters Works will be as good as a Non-conformists Dictionary to us: and assist the World toward the Understanding of the Holy Dialect, in a Wonderful manner. For the Purity of the Gospell; the ways of Christ: the Ordinances of the Lord; the Power of Godlynelle; the Foundations of Faith; the Holy Discipline: A Blessed Reformation, &c. These are Words, and Expressions, that signify quite another thing to Them, then they do to Us. Faithful Pastors; Laborious Ministers; Heavenly Guides; Zealous Protestants;

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*The Upright in the Land : Humble Petitioners ; Just Privileges ; Higher Powers ; Glorious Kings ; Holy Covenanting unto the Lord, &c. This is not to be taken now, as the Language Currant of the Nation, but only as a Privy Cypher of Intelligence betwixt Themselves, and the Cant, or Jargon of the Party. Nay, they fly from us in their Speech, their Manners, their Meaning, as well as in their Profession. The very Christ-Crosse in the Horn-Book is as much a Scandal to them, as the Crosse in Baptisme ; and they make it a point of Honour to maintain the Freedome of their Own Tongue, in token, that they are not as yet a Conquer'd Nation.*

*But are the Non-conformists agreed upon it, or not ; that Mr. Baxter shall be their Speaker ; and that what he delivers in Their Name, shall be taken and deemed as the sense of the Party ? If it be so ; we have no more to do then to Consult Mr. Baxter himself, and from his own Writings, ( which I have here Cited, and Apply'd, with exact Faith, and Justice ) to take our Measures of the Dissenting Brethren.*

*No man presses Obedience to the HIGHER POWERS, more Imperiously then He does : But then he makes Those Higher Powers to be still the Usurpers, one after another, as they get into ACTUAL POSSESSION. [ Prove ( says he ) in the Preface to his Holy Common-Wealth ) that the KING was the HIGHEST POWER, in the time of Division,—and I will offer my Head to Justice, as a Rebell. ] His meaning must Inevitably be This ; Either that the King had no Right to the Crown before the Divisions, or that he forfeited his Title, by the Rebellion ; which is an Admirable way of Transition, from rank Treason, to Lawfull Authority. But in all These Cases, he has still a Recourse for a Salvo to his Box of Distinctions : and tells ye, that they Shot at CHARLES STUART in the Field, for the Honour and Safety of the KING in the Two Houses. And then, Good Lord ! How he runs himself out of Breath with Detesting, and Renouncing, and Renouncing, and Detesting KING-KILLING ! And yet upon Occasion when Oliver the King-killer falls in his Way ; How does he lay himself out in Euloyges, upon the PIOUS Defunct ! Praying, ( as the highest Instance of the Veneration he had for That Usurper ) that the Spirit of the Father might descend upon the Son. [ We pray ( says he to Richard ) that you may INHERIT a tender care of the Cause of Christ ] Key for Catholics, Ep. Ded. But then in another Fit, he shall advance ye into  
his*

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his Politicks, with a Troop of Aphorismes; Lay Principalities and Powers Levell with the Ground, and tear up the very Ordinance it self of Government by the Roots. [ If Providence (say he ) **STATEDLY**, disable him that was the Governour &c. ] Ho. Com. Thef. 136.

[ And yet he does not down-Right avow the Doctrine of King-Killing; He does indeed approve of giving Battle to the Kings WILL: but whether to aym at it, in his Majestys HEAD, or in his HEART, is not, as yet, **STATEDLY** determin'd. Now to moderate the matter, The Presbyterians only cut off his Majestys Hands, and Feet, so that he could neither Help nor Shift for himself, and then gave him ( Sold him I should say ) to the Independents, Who cut off his Head. If Mr. Baxter speaks the Sence of the Non-Conformists, as he pretends to do, then must This serve for an Exposition of their Loyalty; But if not; Why does not the Party either disown or take away his Commission?

This is it, which the Restlesse, and Implacable Adversaries of our Common Repose, make such a noyse in the World with, as the work of the spirit of Persecution; the Enflaming of Differences; the Widening of Breaches; and the Violation of the Act of Oblivion. Whereas, in Truth, there's nothing in it of a Spiteful Investive, but on the other side, it is only a playn, and a necessary defence.

Mr. Baxter, in his Non-Conformists Pleas, delivers ( in his way ) a kind of Deduction of the War. Particularly, under the Head of [ Matters of Fact to be fore-knownn, to the True Understanding of the Cause. ] 2d Part. Pag. 120. In This Chapter, from the Question of the Constitution of Churches; the Powers of Princes, and Pastors in Ecclesiastical Matters, and Cases of Lawful Separation; he makes a Sally, without any manner of Connexion, or Provocation, into the State and Right of the War. Pa. 123. He charges it upon a Faction among the Bishops, and the falling in of the Majority of the Parliaments, to the Popular part of them; in That division: which is a Calumny, as remote from the Subject of his Discourse as it is from Truth. If it had been as he would have it; how comes the whole Order of Bishops to be Assaulted? Their Persons Affronted; and their Votes in Parliament taken away; without distinction? Was the Feud so deadly, as to make them destroy Themselves; and Ruine the whole Hierarchy in Revenge? How came it to pass, that Bishop Hall, a Person Celebrated even by Mr Baxter himself for his Piety and Moderation: How came This Ro-

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verend Prelate I say, to be so Courstly handled by the Corporation of the Smeetymnians, Marshall, Calamy, Young, Newcomen, and spurstow: and Treated by Five of the most Eminent men of the Par-ty, with Scurrilitys suster for the Priests of Priapus, then the Ministers of the Gospell. Pa. 124. He goes on with his Remarks upon Bishop Laud, over and over. The Book of Sports, on the Lords day, the business of [ Altars, Rayls, and Bowing towards them. After-noon-Sermons and Lectures put down ; Imprisonments, Stigmati-sings, Removals, &c. ] And then Pa. 125. He proceeds to [ the new Liturgy Imposed on the Scots, &c. ] But says he, ( a little be-low ) we are Unwilling to be the Mentioners of any More then Concerneth our Present Cause, and the Things are Commonly known. ] Which is such a way of Mentioning no more, as gives to understand without speaking, all the Ill Imaginable that was Left unsaid.

Mithinks Mr. Baxter might have let This most Reverend, Pi-ous, Loyal and ANTIPAPAL Arch-Bishop have slept quietly in his Grave, and out of pure Gratitude to our Present Sovereign, to whose Mercy this very Gentleman owes his Life, setting aside the Ve-neration that belongs to Majesty, and Truth ; Mithinks Mr. Bax-ter might have spared this Libell, and the Government of the Son, against the Administrations of the Father. But it is no new thing, for Criminals to Arraign Innocents ; or for Those that a're Par-don'd for Subverting the Government, to shoot their Arrows ( even bitter Words ) against Those that have been Persecuted and Mur-ther'd for Endeavouring to defend it.

And now after all These Imputations upon the King, the Church, and the Loyall Party, even to the Degree of making them Answera-ble for all the Blood that has been spilt : We must not so much as presume to say that we are Innocent. But every Vindication of the King, the Church, and the Law from the Insults of the Common Enemy, is ex-claimed against as an Inrode upon the Act of Indemnity. If Mr. Baxter will needs be laying the Rebellion at the wrong door, and Dis-charging the Presbyterians : Why may not any Honest man Reply upon him ; and say, ( in agreement with Mr. Baxter himself, Non-Conformists Plea, I. Part. Pa. 127. that it was the Solemn League and Covenant that did the work : Which Solemn League was not only an Expresse Oath of Allegiance to Presbytery, but to the most Tyrannical of all Presbyteries, That of the Scottish Kirk it self. But why do I call it an Oath of Allegiance to Presbyte-ry? When it was in Truth, a direct Conjuraton against the Go-vernment, both Ecclesiastical, and Civil, for the Introdu-  
cing of it ?

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*It would be Tedious, and Superfluous, to Crowd all the Particulars of This Pamphlet into a Preface ; so that I shall rather refer the Reader, to the Book, for the rest ; where he may compare Mr. Baxter with himself : for it is, Effectually, but an Abstract out of Mr. Baxter's Writings. By the Paradoxes, Disagreements, and Contradictions he will be able to Judge of the Authour ; and by the Authour, in a great Measure of the Party. He that would see them drawn more to the Life, may repair to the Original of our Saviours for the Pharisees, in the Gospell. Examin them Narrowly and you shall not find so much as the semblance of a Colourable Argument ; but they are still changing their Battery, and Pretense, according to the various Accidents, and dispositions of State : and it is but tracing the History of the Late times to find every Round of the Ladder, that advanc'd them from Petitioners to Rulers. They Plead the Cause of Thousands in the Land, they tell us, and yet there's not a Single man in all Those Thousands, that understands one bit of the Controversy. They cry aloud against Idolatry, Superstition, Abominations, Symbolical Ceremonies, Will-Worship, Humane Inventions, and Order their Disciples just as they do their Children : They dresse up a Terrible thing of Clouts, and call it a Bull-begger, which is no other then a Mormo of their own Creating. They have a certain Routin of Words, and Sayings, that have the tone of Magique in the very Sound of them, and serve only ( without any other Meaning ) like the Drum, and the Trumpet, to rouse up the Multitude to Battle. But the Lords Ordinance, and the Primitive Pattern stand them in Mighty stead. For though they have been Foyld as often as Encountred upon This Question ; yet the very Terms of the Controversy being as good as Syriack, to the Common people ; there is a Mist cast before their Eyes, and they are never in so good tune, to see Visions as when they are stark blind.*

*To Conclude, I have exposd these Sheets to the Publick, rather as Mr. Baxters work, then my own. If it runs heavy, it was more of my Fault that my Authour would not mend his Pace. Nor have I any more to say upon the whole matter, but that I have been as fair to Mr. Baxter, as He hath been to Himself.*



# A DIALOGUE, &c.

*Moderator. Richard and Baxter.*

*Mode-  
rator.* **Y**Es, yes. I remember the Conference at the *savoy* perfectly well; by This Token, that Dr. *Gunning* and Dr. *Pearson* (the Bishops of *Ely* and *Chester*) deliver'd you this very Proposition.

*That Command which Commandeth an Act in it self Lawfull, and no other Act whereby any unjust Penalty is enjoyed, nor any Circumstance whence directly, or per accidens, any Sin is Consequent which the Commander ought to provide against, hath in it all things requisite to the Lawfulness of a Command, and particularly cannot be guilty of commanding an Act per accidens Unlawfull; nor of Commanding an Act under an Unjust Penalty. [B of Worcelsters Letter, in his Vindication against M. Baxter. P. 36.]*

The Proposition at the Savoy about the command of lawful superiors.

*Ri. Very Good; and I gave them under my hand my Opinion to the Contrary. [Because (said I) the first Act commanded may be per accidens Unlawful, and be Commanded by an Unjust Penalty; tho' no other Act or Circumstance Commanded be such.]*

*Richards Resolution under his hand.*

*Ba. Nay hold you Brother, I'm of another Opinion. [If the Commanded be such as is simply ill, and forbidden us by God in all Cases whatsoever, then no ones Commands can make it Lawfull: But if it be a thing that is only Inconvenient, or Unlawful by some Lesser accident; then the Command of Authority may pre-ponderate, as a more weighty Accident]*

B

R. B's.

Many Com-  
mands anlaw-  
ful which the  
subject ought  
yet to obey.

No Ruler is  
bound to pro-  
vide against  
Events not to  
be foreseen.

Magistracy  
cut off at a  
blow.

The Civil  
Power must  
not make  
Laws about  
Gods Worship.

But Baxter  
says, that  
*Circa Sacra*  
he may.

Richard and  
Baxter still at  
variance.

*R. B's Church-Divisions, P. 194.* Nay [ Many a Ruler sineth in his Commands, when it is no Sin, but a Duty of the Inferior to Obey them. As if a Magistrate Command Religious Duties in meer Policy: or if he force a Lawful Command with Unlawful Penalties; and Yet it will be the Subjects Duty to Obey. ] *Ibid.* [ Nor is any Ruler bound to suspect, and prevent such Unusual Dangers of mens Sin, or Ruine, as fall out beyond all Rational Foresight, or Expectation; of whose Probable Event ( or Possible at least ), there was no just Evidence. ] *R. B's Non-Conformists Judgment. P. 60.*

*Mo.* Your Argument ( Mr. Richard ) has cut off all Magistracy at a Blow: For there is not any Command Imaginable that falls not within the Reach of your Exception. And Mr. Baxter is in the Right on't. But what do ye think now ( Gentlemen ) of the Operation, or further Extent of such a Power?

*Ri.* If you mean as to matters concerning Religion [ No man hath any Authority to make Laws about Gods Worship, but what Christ hath given him. ] *Non-Conformists Plea 2d Part. P. 28.*

*Ba.* Pray'e hold me a little Excus'd There too; for [ we renounce the Opinion of them that hold that *Circa Sacra* the King hath no Power to Command the Circumstances of Worship. ] *Non-Conformists Plea. Part 2d. P. 73.*

*Mo.* There is but a Right and a Wrong in the case ( my Masters ) and you have hit them both again, I make no doubt on't, but your *Circa Sacra* comprehends *Liturgies, Ceremonies*, and other Circumstances of Order, relating to the Church, pray'e tell me how your Consciences stand affected that way: Not as to the Merits of the Cause ( for the world is already clogg'd with That Controversy ) but I would willingly know what thoughts, You, and the Party you plead for, entertain of our Ecclesiastical matters



Ri. [ When the King call'd us to signify our desires in 1660. the *Richard's Account of the Ministers of London were commonly invited to come to Sion Colledge, that their Common Consent might be known: And There we agreed, to desire or offer nothing for Church-Government but* *Savoy-Conference.*  
*A.B. Ushers Modell of the Primitive Episcopal Government. Ushers Primitive Episcopal Government offer'd, but rejected,*  
 When his Majesty would not grant us That Modell, nor the Bishops once Treat about it, he was pleas'd in his Gracious Declaration about Ecclesiastical Affairs to offer and prescribe the Episcopacy of England as it stood, with little alteration, &c. ( A Government ( says his Majesty. ) Fol. 10. Which is established by Law, and with which the Monarchy hath flourish'd through so many Ages, and which is in truth as ancient in this Island as the Christian Monarchy thereof. ) [ This Declaration we Joyfully and thankfully accepted, as a hopefull means of a Common Conformity and Concord. ] Non-Con's Plea, 2d. Part Pref.

The English Episcopacy submitted to by Richard, &c.

Ba. [ The English Prelacy ( I tell you ) is the product of proud Ambition and Arrogancy; and contrary to the expresse Command of Christ. ] R. B's. *Five Disputations* P. 45. Bishops are Thorns and Thistles, and the Military Instruments of the Devil. ] R.B's. Concord. P. 122. How could you justify then a Submission to such a Prelacy? But held Antichristian and Diabolical by Baxter.

Mo. If an Angel from Heaven I perceive were employ'd to bring you two to an Agreement, he should lose his Labour; For That which is highly acceptable to the One, and the hopefull Foundation of a Common Concord, is Antichristian, Diabolical, and Unofferable to the Other. Richard and Baxter never to be reconcil'd.

You are up ( I find ) at every Turn with the *Primates Project*, and in such a manner too, as if the most reasonable thing in the World had been offer'd on the One side, and refused on the Other: Whereat That Proposition was only accommodated to the hard Circumstances of the Kings Affairs, at the time of Framing it. Now tho' any man, in a case of Extremity, would submit to the losse of an Arm or a Leg, for the saving of his Life; it would yet be a very strange request

The Ground of A.B. Usher Project of Episcopacy.

quest to ask a man in a state of Freedom, and Safety, to part with a Leg or an Arm from his Body: And as wild a thing, on the other side, to Grant it. But the very offer at it under a pretense of *Conscience*, was highly disingenuous, especially when upon the Issue the *Scruple* was remov'd by the *Refusal*; and This Satisfaction given to the world, by your own Acknowledgment, that *Conformity* and *Episcopacy* may stand well enough together, when you please.

Many would have yielded to *Prelacy*, &c

Ri. *I cannot deny but that [many proposed to have yielded to Prelacy, Liturgy, and Ceremonies.] Non-Con. Plea, Part I. P. 136.*

The *Diocesan Episcopacy* gratifies the Devil, says *Baxter*, and not to be re-admitted.

Ba. Why truly [a Certain Episcopacy may be yielded to, for the Peace (if not for the Right Order) of the Church;] [But the *Diocesan Episcopacy* which was lately in *England*, and is now laid by may not be lawfully reassumed, or readmitted, as a means for the Right Order or Peace of the Church.] *R.B's. Five Disputation, P. 2. 1659. [A Government which gratifieth the Devil, and wicked men.] Ibid. P. 36.*

R. and B. still Clashing.

Mo. Still upon the *Contradiction*. But if they were so well dispos'd to come in, what was it I beseech you that put them off again?

The New Uniformity spoil'd all.

Ri. When they saw the New Act for Uniformity, their Deliberations were at an End. *Ibid. P. 26.*

Prelacy Unlawful in it self says *Baxter*.

Ba. [After proving Prelacy to be against the Will of Christ, and the Wellfare of the Churches, *Five Disp. Pref. 16.* and contrary to the word of God, and Apostolical Institution, *Ibid. P. 51.* what need was there then of any further Dissuasion?

Why not Prelacy as lawful after the Act, as before?

Mo. Pray'e tell me Mr. *Richard*; Was Prelacy Lawfull Before the Act for Uniformity, and not After? You are Angry at the One, and therefore you Renounce the Other; for it was no longer *Prelacy, Liturgy, or Ceremonies*, it seems that you boggled at, but the

the *New Act*. Now since you your selves were convinc'd, that such a Conformity as aforesaid would have been *Warrantable*, and only transfer'd your Exceptions to the *New Act*; how comes it that you go on still decrying the *State, Rites, and Offices* of the *Church* to the *Multitude*; and make That a matter of *Conscience* in *One breath* which you left at *Liberty* in *Another*?

The *Uniformity* does not alter the case one jot to the *Common People*; but the *Layety* may as lawfully submit to *Prelacy, Liturgy and Ceremonies, After the Act*, as they did *before*. It is the same case still to the People.

Ri. [The People who now adhere to the Non-Conformists, who were at age before the Wars, had very hard thoughts of the Bishops thoughts of Persons; and some, of Episcopacy it self; because of the Silencing Episcopacy of Ministers, and ruining of Honest men about Sundays-sports, and upon Reading That Book, and other such things, beside Nonconformity, what ground is &c. Non-Con. Plea. Part I. P. 139.]

Mo. the Bishops and Episcopacy it self you say were thought hardly of; partly for *Silencing* your *Ministers*. Which was yet a way of proceeding Conformable to the directions of the *Law*; and in part, (among Other Provocations) for the *Book of Sports* upon the *Lords day*. Be it spoken with Reverence to the Honour and Duty of that Holy Day; I should have thought that the *Rebells* assaulting of their *Sovereign* at *Edge hill* upon *That day*, might have given your *Scrupulists* as hard thoughts of the *Faction* that did it, and of those *Sanguinary Casuists* that founded the *Trumpet* to *That Battle*. But how came they off I beseech you, from That forward Humour? A Greater Scandall to travell upon the Lords day then to give the King battle

Ri. [When the Ministers that guided them, began to seem more Richard Con- reconciled to the Episcopal Party, and upon the Reports and Promises which they had heard, that the next Bishops would prove more moderate, pious, and peaceable then the Former, and would by experience. fesses that the Ministers guided the people.]

and says that the Non-conformists undertook for their next Bishops good behaviour.

The Quarrel not to the Office of Bishops but to the persons.

Richard, Reasons why the People fell from the Church again

The Uniformity made Episcopacy and Common-prayer unlawful.

'Tis the Law that Silences, and not the Bishops.

ence avoid Divisions and Persecution; the said People began to incline'd to more Reverent and Favourable Thoughts of the Bishops, and were upon experience of the late Confusions in a far fairer way to Union and Submission to them then before. Non-Con. Plea, Part I. P. 139.

Mo. If it be True that the People were induced to have a more Charitable Opinion of the Prelates, by the Hopes which their Guides gave them of having better Bishops next bout; It appears, first that the Quarrel was not to the Office, but to the Persons. And Secondly, it shews that the Ministers menage the Multitude, For or Against their Superiours, as They please: which lays a stronger Obligation upon the Government, to secure a Well-affected Ministry, when the Publique Peace lyes at the Mercy of the Dissenting Clergy. But what becomes of us next?

Ri. When they saw their Teachers taken from them, and some set over them against their Wills who were better known to them then to the Oubrulers: And when they heard of about 2000, Silenced at once, This so much Alienated them from the Bishops, that it was never since in Our Power to bring them to so much Esteem of them, and Reverence for them as might have been. Non-Con. Plea, Part I. P. 140.

Mo. So that upon the Upshot, there pass'd an Act for Uniformity, Ergo, Episcopacy and Common-Prayer are Unlawfull.

See now what it is that you call Silencing of so many Ministers. It is no more then a fair Revival of those necessary Provisions for the Safety of the Government, which had been violently overborn and discontinu'd in our late Troubles: Upon which violation, ensued our Deplorable Confusions. And to take the businesse aright, the Law does not silence your Ministers more then it does Ours; but holds forth one Common Rule indifferently to All men, with a respect to Politicall, as well as Ecclesiastical Concord.

Every

Every man sees before him the Conditions of his Freedom; and he that either Cannot, or Will not comply with the Terms of a General Rule, *Silenceth himself*. And is not the Man neither that is *Silenced* by This Law, but this or that *Incongruous Practice* or *Opinion*. If *Richard* thinks fit to come *In*, there's no body *hinders* him; and if *John* will not come in, who can *help* it? In short, This way of *Silencing* amounts to no more then a very Gentle Expedient for the stopping of those Mouthes that would be blowing the Coal towards a Rebellion. Wherefore I beseech ye Gentlemen for the Act of *Oblivions* sake, which has done a great deal more for you then This comes to, have some pitty for the poor Act of *Uniformity*.

As to your account of about two thousand Silenc'd Ministers, a matter of 8. or 900. difference shall break no squares betwixt you and me. But what yet if they Were two thousand? must the divine Ordinance of Government be prophan'd, and the harmony of Order Dissolv'd, in favour of that Inconsiderable Party of *Irregulars*; and to the scandal of six times as many *Consciencious* and *Obedient Subjects* of the State both *Ecclesiastical*, and *Civill*?

Non-Conformists silence themselves.

Better particulars suffer then the Order of Government be dissolved.

Ri. For my own part [I do not know that I differ in any point of Worship, Ceremonies, or Discipline, from the Learned Dr. John *Richard* Reignolds] R. B's Letter to Mr. Hinckley, P. 89. And my Judgement is, that [a Peace with the Divines of the Episcopal Judgement is much to be desired, and earnestly endeavour'd.] Five Disp. Pag. 1.

Mo. If you agree in the Conclusion with that Reverend Dr. you are safe; and take This for a Rule; Out of the ways of *Love* and *Peace* there can be no *Comfort*.

Ri. *Alas*

Richard  
pleads alto-  
gether for Love.

Ri. *Alas [It is a Sect, as a Sect, and a Faction, as a Faction, and not this or that Sect or Faction which I blame : It is Unity, Love, and Peace which I am pleading for ; and he that is angry with me for calling men to Love, is angry for calling them to Holynesse, to God, and Heaven. Holynesse which is against Love, is a Contradiction ; it is a deceitfull name which Satan putteth upon Unholynesse. Church Divisions. I ref.*

Baxters way  
of expressing.

Ba. Your Churches bear with Drunkards, Whoremongers, Railers, Open Scorners at Godlynesse, *Five Disp. P. 37. [The most ungodly of the Land are the forwardest for your ways. You may have almost all the Drunkards, Blasphemers, and Ignorant Haters of Godlynesse in the Countrey to Vote for you.] Five Disp. Pref. Pag. 17. To the Adherers to Prelacy.*

Richard a-  
gainst rash  
censuring  
of others.

Ri. *[He is as Mortal an Enemy to Love, who back-biteth, and saith he's Profane ; Or he is an Empty Formalist, or he is a lukewarm, Temporizing, Complying Man-Pleaser ; As he that saith he is a peevish, Factious Hypocrite.] To Preach without Love, and to hear without Love, and to pray without Love, and to communicate without Love to any that differ from your Sect, Oh what a loathsome Sacrifice is it to the God of Love !] Church-Divisions. Preface. Love is the fulfilling of all the Law ; the End of the Gospel, the Nature, and mark of Christs Disciples ; the Divine Nature ; the Sum of Holynesse to the Lord ; the Proper Note by which to know what is the man, and what his State ; and how far any of his Other Acts are acceptable unto God. Ibid.*

Exeter a-  
gainst Richard

Ba. How many years have we beg'd for Peace of those that should have been the Preachers and wisest Promoters of Peace ; and cannot yet obtain it ; nor quiet them that call for fire and sword, *not knowing what Spirit they are of ? Non-Com. Plea, Pref. [The Declaration about Ecclesiastical Affairs telleth us, that the King would have given the People Peace, but with Unpeaceable Clergy-men, No Petition could prevail.] Ibid. [And all This is out of a bitter Enmity to Gods word and ways ; for they will be at more pains then This, in any way that is Evill ; or in any Worship of Mans devising. They are as zealous for Crosses and Surplices, Processions, and Perambulations, reading a Gospel at a Crosse-way, the Observation of Holy days, the repeating of the Litany, or the like Forms in the Common Prayer, the bowing at*

Mr Baxters  
Charity to  
the Clergy  
and discipline  
of the Church



the name of the word *Jesus*, (while they reject his *Worship*) the receiving of the *Secrament* when they have no *Right* to it, and that upon their *Knees*, as if they were more Reverent and Devout then the true *Laborious servants of Christ*; with a Multitude of things which are only the *Traditions* of their Fathers; I say they are as zealous for These, as if Eternal Life consisted in them. Where God forbids them, there they are as forward as if they could never do enough, and where God Commands them, There they are as backward to it; yea as much against it as if they were the Commands of the Devil himself. And for the Discipline of Christ, tho all parts of the world have much opposed it, yet where hath it been so fiercely and powerfully resisted? The Lord grant that this harden'd, willful, malicious Nation fall not under that Heavy Doom, *Luke 19. 27.* But those mine Enemies which would not that I should reign over them, bring them hither and slay them before me. *R.B.'s Saints Rest, Part. 3. P. 91.*

His brotherly Love.

Church and State are not to reign d.

Mo. To see the difference now Gentlemen, betwixt your two *Spirits*! The *One*, so meek, and like a *Christian*, the *Other*, so clamorous, and so *Uncharitable*. What hopes of *Unity* and *Peace*; or what *Pretence* to't; so long as these dividing and defaming *Liberties* are kept afoot? Your Friend *Richard* tells you very well (Mr. *Baxter*) that *Such Holynesse is a deceitfull Name that Satan puts upon Unholynesse*, and a *loathsome Sacrifice to the God of Love*. You revile the *Government*, and those that Conform to it, and yet at the same time you tell the People that you are persecuted.

*Richard* and *Baxter* of two quite different *Spirits*.

The persecuted are the persecutors,

You would be thought kinder to his Majesty however, in devolving the severity from the *King* upon the *Clergy*; and yet his Majesty is pleased to minde you that [ Since the Printing this Declaration, severall *Seditious Pamphlets* and *Quæres* have been Published, and Scatter'd abroad, to infuse dislike and *Fealousies* into the hearts of the People; and of the *Army*, and some who ought rather to have repented the former mischief they have wrought, then to have endeavour'd to improve it, have had

the Ministry to publish that the Doctrine of the Church (against which no man with whom we have conferred but excepted) ought to be reformed as well as the Discipline. So that all this yielding was too little, it seems to stop the Mouths of an Insatiable Faction. But what is it at last that you would be at?

Be sure first of what spirit the Non-Conformists are.

Ri. *That of the Clergy that before they any more render Obedience to those whom they never heard, and Urge Rulers to Excuse the same against them; that is, to confine, Imprison, Excommunicate, Silence, and Smother them, they would be sure, what manner of spirit they are of.* Non-con. Plea, Part I. Epistle.

The spirit of the Non-Conformists.

Mo. [Sare of what spirit you are] do ye say! Why Certainly your own Conscience tells you that you are sure of that, as Hearing, Seeing, Feeling, and Understanding can make us. You are by your own Professions of the Presbyterian Spirit. The Spirit that made Perjury the Condition of Life, Liberty and Estate, to every man in the Case of your Covenant. The Spirit that Entred upon Sequestred Livings, and left not the Loyal Clergy the Freedome, so much as of Teaching a School, to supply themselves, and their Miserable Families with Bread. The Spirit that deny'd the King in his Distresses, the Comfort of so much as a Common Prayer Book, or the Assistance of his own Chaplains.

His Late Majesty's Judgment & Experience upon it.

[A greater Rigour and Barbarity then is ever used by Christians, to the meanest Prisoners, and Greatest Malefactors; whom though the Justice of the Law, deprive of Worldly Comforts, yet the mercy of Religion allows them the Benefit of their Clergy, as not aiming at once to destroy their Bodies, and to damn their souls, EIK. BAS. 207. [They that envy my being a King, are loth I should be a Christian; while they seek to deprive me of all things else, they are afraid I should save my Soul. Ibid.] Behold here in a few words the Spirit that you plead for.

The Spirit that Richard pleads for.



*Alas poor Creatures, [ We would [ only ] have a Tolera-  
tion of all that's Tolerable [ but that will Tolerate All, is Bad ; Richard's Tol-  
eration.  
and he who will Tolerate, none that differ, is Madd. ] R. B's an-  
swer to Dr. Stillingfleet. P. 84.*

*So. If the Church may be Judge, all that are Tole-  
rable are Tolerated already ; If the People must be the  
Judges, the Intolerable must be Tolerated for Company. Who are the  
Judges, the  
Government,  
or the People?*  
*For so long as every Party Makes, or Pretends it self, to  
be in the Right, all the Dissenters have one Common  
Plea. But in case of any Indulgence to be allow'd, it  
is certainly due to these in preference, that are quiet-  
est without it. I cannot but have great Compassion  
for any Party that labours under a Religious and In-  
vincible Disagreement, and Modesty applies to Au-  
thority for Relief : For so long as they only tell their  
own Tale, I cannot but in charity believe that they  
have no other design then to do their own businessse. But  
when a Conscientious Pretense comes to be carry'd on  
by Scandal, Invektive, Reproach, and such Methods as  
are directly Irreligious ; the dispute is no longer matter  
of Scruple, or Worship, but Superiority, and Power. Modest Dis-  
senters de-  
serve pity.*  
*There may be Religion in telling the Government what  
you desire, but the exposing of your Superiours to the  
People, is Down right Sedition. The Dispute  
is not: Scruple  
but Power.*  
*And, as you have hand-  
led the matter, you might e'en with as good a Grace  
tell the Rabble in plain English: Look ye my Masters,  
here's a company of Anti-Christian Swearing, Drinking  
Fellows, that will not let us have Liberty of Conscience ;  
But I would fain hear you two debate the business of  
Toleration a little betwixt your selves. Plain-dealing.*

*Ri. What [ if you shall smite or cast out a supposed Schismatick,  
and Christ shall find an able, holy peaceable Minister, or other Christi-  
an Wounded, or Mourning out of doors. Pet. for Peace. P. 12.  
[ Or see a Schismatick wounded and a Saint found Bleeding, &c. Schismatick  
Saints Rest. P. 30.*

*Richard puts  
the Case of a  
Saint and a  
Schismatick.*

**Baxters Saints**

**Baxter** fully  
resolved to go  
to them that  
dy'd in Rebel-  
lion.

He joys to  
think what  
Company he  
shall have.

**Baxter** says;  
that Profes-  
sors will rail,  
and lye, &c.

But that nei-  
ther Perjury,  
drunkenness,  
Incest, Con-  
cubines, nor  
Idols, can  
make them  
dotoriously  
ungodly.

The Saints  
that are cast  
out for here-  
ticks.

**Baxter** And now you talk of *Saints*, *Richard* [to think of such a Friend dyed at such a time, and such a one at another time, such a precious Christian slain in such a Fight, and such a one at such a Fight, ( O what a number of them could I name ) and that all these are enter'd into Rest; and we shall surely go to them, but They shall not return to Us. *Saints Rest*, P. 100. In That State of Rest, Angells as well as Saints will be Our blessed Associates. *Ibid*, P. 101. [ I think Christians, This will be a more Honourable Assembly, then you ever here beheld, and a more happy Society then you were ever of before. Surely *Pyne* and *White*, &c. are now members of a more *Knowing*, *Unwarring*, *Well-order'd*, *Right-aiming*, *Self-denying*, *Unanimous*, *Honourable*, *Tryumphant Senate*, then This from whence they were taken, is or ever Parliament will be. It is better to be door-keeper to That Assembly, whither *Twisse* &c. are Translated; then to have continu'd here the *Moderator* of This. *Saints Rest*, P. 101. [ Nay how many Professors will rashly rail and lye in their Passions? How few will take well a Reproof, but rather defend their sin? how many in these times that we doubt not to be Godly have been guilty of Disobedience to their Guides, and of Schism, and doing much more to the hurt of the Church, a very great Sin. *Peter*, *Lot*, and 'tis like *David* did oft commit greater Sins. *R. B's Five Disputes of Right to Sacraments*, P. 320. But a man must be guilty of more sins then *Peter* was in denying and forswearing Christ, that is notoriously ungodly; yea, then *Lot* was, who was drunk two nights together, and committed Incest twice with his own Daughters; and that after the miraculous destruction of *Sodom*, of his own wife, and his own miraculous Deliverance. Nay, a man that is notoriously ungodly ( in the sense in hand ) or Unsanctify'd, must be a greater sinner then *Solomon* was with his *Seven hundred Wives*, *three hundred Concubines*; and *grosse Idolatries*, P. 326. 327.

**Mo.** And are These the *Saints* ( *Gentlemen* ) that you are afraid should be cast out, for *Schismatiques*? They must be of your own *Canonizing* then, for I assure you I finde no such *Saints* in our *Kalendar*. But let me hear I beseech you whom we are to keep out, and whom to take in.

Ri. We must either Tolerate All men to do what they will, which they will make a matter of Conscience or Religion; and then some may offer their Children in sacrifice to the Devil; and some may think they do God service in killing his Servants, &c. [Or else you must Tolerate no Error or fault in Religion; and then you must advise what measure of Penalty you will Inflict. Church-Divif. R.363, 364.]

Either Tolerate All or None, but upon a Penalty.

Mo The two great Difficulties will be to say what Errors are Tolerable, and what not; and then to bring the Magistrate and the People to an Agreement upon the matter.

Ri, [If no Error were to be Tolerated, no men were to be Tolerated and the Wiseft in the World must be numbred with the Intolerable, as well as the rest. Church Divif. P.348.]

No men must be Tolerated, if no Error.

Ba. [But some People make those things to be Duties which are no Duties, and Sins which are no Sins, calling Evil Good, and Good Evil; and having made a Religion of their own, confidently think that it is of God, valuing all men that they have to do with according as they are nearer or further off from This, which they account the way of God; chusing a Church or Party to joyn with, by the Test of This Religion, which their Pride has Chosen. Church Divif. P. 11. [Thus they divide the Kingdom and Family of Christ, destroying first the Love of Brethren and Neighbours in themselves, and then labouring to destroy it in all Others; by speaking against those that are not in their own way with Contempt, and Obloquy, to represent them as an Unlovely sort of Men; and if the Inrerest of their Cause and Party require it, perhaps they will next destroy their Persons: And yet all this is done in zeal of God, and as an Acceptable service to him. Ibid. P. 12. [And they think it a resisting of the Spirit to resist their Judgment. P. 13. [I have known too many very honest-hearted Christians, especially Melancholique Persons and Women who have been in great doubt about the Opinions of the Millenaries, the Separatists, the Anabaptists, the Seekers, and such like; and after earnest Prayer to God, they have been strongly resolved for the way of Error, and Confident by the strong Impression that

Baxter shews the Inconveniences of Toleration,

Pride makes one mans Religion.

Faction another.

Which ends in bloud.

And yet passes for doing God good service. And the motion of the Spirit.

Enthusiastick zeal.

Doctrines  
for Revela-  
tions.

that it was the Spirits Answer to their Prayers; and thereupon they have set themselves into a Course of Sin. *Ibid. P. 162.* And [ In truth it is very Ordinary with poor phancyfull Women, and Melancholy Persons to take all their deep Apprehensions for Revelations. *Ibid. P. 167.*

*Mo.* Well; but these people all this while take themselves to be in the right.

Scripture the  
Rule.

*Ba.* But as for that which is Contrary to Scripture, I am sure it is contrary to the Will of God. *Church Divis. P. 166.*

But who must  
expound it?

*Mo.* Out of all doubt; but what if They expound the Scripture One way, and You Another?

One mans  
Faith must  
not impose  
upon ano-  
thers.

*Ba.* [ Why if they believe That themselves which they can give you no reason to believe, they must be content to keep their belief to themselves; and not for shame perswade any other to it without proof. If they say that God hath revealed it to them, tell them that he hath not revealed it to You, and therefore That's nothing to You, till they prove their Divine Revelation. If God reveal it to them, but for themselves they must keep it to themselves. *Ibid. P. 166.* [ If they say that the Spirit hath told Them the meaning of the Scripture, say as before that it is not told to you which is not proved to you. *Ibid. 167.* [ But if we do through weaknesse or perversnesse take lawfull things to be unlawfull, That will not excuse Us in our disobedience. Our Error is our Sin, and one Sin will not excuse another R. B's. *Five Disput. P. 483.* [ He that mistakingly thinks any thing is good or bad, Duty or Sin which is not so, will be zealous in persute of his Mistake if he be serious for God. *Cath. Theol. Pref.* [ It is an ill sign when your zeal is beyond the proportion of your Understanding: And your Prudence and Experience is much lesse then other mens, as your zeal is greater. *Church Divis. P. 123.* [ Beside that the more weak and worthlesse, and Erroneous any ones Judgment is, usually the more furious are they in the prosecution of it, as if all were most certain Truth which they apprehend. These are the boldest both in *Schisms*, and *persecutions.* *Ibid. 357.*

Mistake will  
not justifie  
the Error,  
nor excuse a  
Disobedience.  
Men will be  
zealous even  
in Error.  
More zeal  
then under-  
standing is  
not good.  
None so fierce  
and bold as  
the Ignorant.

Mo. But you will say, that in cases where the common people may be imposed upon by *Credulity*, *Phancy*, or *Weaknesse*, they may repair to their Teachers to set them right.

Ba. Even the most of Teachers take abundance of things for true and good that are false and evill, and for false and bad, which are true and good: Much more are godly vulgar people ignorant, and consequently erre in many things, *Cath. Theol. Pref.* [And I my self was mistaken in my *Aphorisms* of *Justification* and the *Covenants*, as I have acknowledged in the same Preface.

Even Teachers themselves are false Guides.

Mr. Baxter himself has been mistaken

Mo. You have had very ill luck, Sir, with your *Aphorisms*.

Ill luck with his Aphorisms.

Ri. [I must confess that when God had first brought me from among the more Ignorant sort of people, and when I heard Religious Persons pray without Form, and speak affectionately, and seriously of Spiritual and Heavenly things, I thought verily that they were all undoubted Saints; till e're long, of those whom I so much honoured, one fell of to Sensuality, and to Persecuting Formality; and another fell to the foulest Herefy, and another to disturb the Churches Peace, by Turbulent Animositys and Divisions. Church Div. P. 23. 24. &c.

How Richard was wheedled in.

i.e. he was reconciled to the Church.

Ri. [I thought once, that all the talk against Schisme and Sects, did but vent their Malice against the best Christians, under those Names; But since Then, I have seen what Love-killing-Principles have done. I have long stood by while Churches have been divided, and subdivided; one Congregation of the Division labouring to make the other Contemprible, and odious; and This called, the Teaching of Truth, and the purer Worshipping of God; Church-Divisions. Pref.

Richard's best Christians found to be Schismatics.

Ba. [When so great a man as Tertullian was deceived by Montanus, and his Prophetesse: When such a one as Hacket could deceive not only Coppinger, and Arthington, but abundance more; when David George in Holland, John of Leiden in Munster, &c. could deceive so many persons as they did; when the

Great men mist, and why not Mr. Baxter.

Believe not  
every spirit.

The Dissen-  
ters Cause is  
still Gods  
cause.

Their false  
Prophets.

The Kings  
death directed  
by a Revela-  
tion.

Sedgwicks  
day of Judge-  
ment.

Vavasir Pow-  
els Prophecy  
of no more

Kings or  
Taxes.

Rather the  
Law of the  
Land then  
the Humour  
of the people. US

A Fear of sin-  
ning ought to  
becherished,  
even in a mi-  
stake.

Dangerous  
trusting to  
scruples.

the pretended *Revelations* of the *Ranters*, *First*, and the *Quakers*. *After*, could so marvellously transport many Thousands of pro-  
fessors of Religion in this Land, I think we have fair warning to  
take the Counsell of St. *John*. *Believe not every Spirit, but try the  
Spirit whether they be of God.* Church Divis. P. 164.

[Alas? how common was this in the Army, to set up and  
Pull down, do an undo, own and disown, as by the Spirit of  
God! There was Mr. *Erbery*, Mr. *Saltmarsh*, Mr. *Dell*, Mr.  
*William Sedgwick*, who as from God wrote one week to the  
Army, against their putting the King to Death, and the next  
week wrote to them quite on the other side, and that set *Lon-  
don* by a Prophecy or Vision on looking for the day of Judge-  
ment, on a set day. *Second. Admon. to Bagshaw.* P. 68. *Vavasir  
Powell* at *Clifton* upon *Thame* in *Worcestershire*, quickly after *Wor-  
cester Fight*, said in his Sermon that he would tell them these things  
as from God that they should have no more Kings, nor any more Taxes,  
nor pay any more Tithes. *Ibid.* P. 69.

*Mo.* Pray'e do but consider now, if your particu-  
lar Pastors disagree among themselves; if you your  
self, Mr. *Baxter*, have been mistaken in your Judge-  
ment as well of *Truth* in *Notion*, as of *Persons*; If  
those that you took for *Saints*, proved *Schismatics*; and  
*Persecutors*, those that you took for *Conscientious Pro-  
fessors*, are we not much better in the hand of a  
known and Impartial Law that cannot deceive us,  
then at the Mercy of a wilde *Multitude*, *Unknown* and  
*Prepossess'd*, who in all probability will impose upon

*Ri.* A Fear of sinning is necessary in all that will be Obedient to  
God, and will be saved: It is that Fear of God which is the beginning  
of Wisdom. It is therefore to be loved and cherished, even when  
Scrupulousness mistaketh the matter. *Non-Con. Plea.* 2d. Part.  
P. 163.

*Ba.* There's no trusting to *Scruples*. [I have known some  
that have liv'd long in doubts and fears of Damnation who  
have turn'd *Anabaptists*, and sodainly had Comfort; and yet in  
a short



a short time they forsook that *Self*, and turn'd to another. I have known those also that have liv'd many years in timorous Complaints, and fears of Hell, and they have turned to the *Arminians*, and sodainly been comforted ; and others have turned *Arminians* ( which is clear contrary ) and been comforted ; and others have but heard of that Doctrine of *Perfection in this Life*, and sodainly been past their fears, as if *hearing of Perfection* had made them perfect : And from thence they have turned *Familiists*, and at last shew'd their *Perfection* by *Fornication*, and *Licentiousness* and mere *Apostacy* ; who yet liv'd very conscientiously and blamelessly, as long as they liv'd in their Fears and Troubles, P. 170. *Church Divis.*

[ Could I have believed him that would have told me five years ago ( *This bearing date Jan. 15. 1649.* ) that when the \* Scorners of Godliness were subdu'd, and the bitter persecutors of the Church overthrown ; that such should succeed them who suffered with us, who were our intimate Friends, with whom we took sweet Counsel, and went up together to the House of God ? Did I think it had been in the hearts of men professing such zeal to Religion, and the ways of Christ to draw their Swords against each other : and to seek each others Blood so fiercely ? Alas ! if the Judgment be once perverted, and Error hath perverted the Supreme Faculty, whether will men go, and what will they do ? *O what a potent Instrument for Satan is a misguided Conscience !* It will make a man kill his dearest Friend, yea Father or Mother, yea, the Holyest Saint, and think he doth God good service by it : And to facilitate the work, it will first blot out the Reputation of their Holiness, and make them take a Saint for a Devil. *Saints Rest. P. 133.* [ Whence can it be, but for want of self-denyall, that Magistrates professing a zeal for Holynesse regard no more the Interest of Christ ; but that the Name ( and but the Name ) of *Liberty*, ( a *Liberty* that hath neither Moral Good, or Evil in it ) is set in the balance against the things of everlasting Consequence, and thought sufficient to over weigh them ; And that the meer pretense of this Indifferent Carnal *Liberty* is thought an Argument of sufficient weight for the introduction of a wicked, *Damning Liberty*, even a *liberty to deceive*, and destroy as many as they can, and to hinder those that desire mens Salvation. *R.B.'s Self-denyall Epist. Monitory.* [ Shall every man have leave to do cvill, that can be Ignorant enough to Liberty.

Who would have thought it ?

The Episcopal Clergy.

Simeon and Levi.

O the force of a misguided Conscience !

The very Cause of the seduced multitude.

The Name of Liberty does more then the consideration of Heaven itself.

Baxter against Liberty.

And Tolera-  
tion.

Liberty the  
way to set up  
Popery.

think (or say he thinks ) that he doth well ? And must Magistrates rule as men that are Uncertain whether there be a Christ, or a Church, or Heaven, or Hell ; because some are found in their Dominions so foolish, or Impious as to be Uncertain of it ? *Ibid.* [ Will mercyfull Rulers set up a trade for butchering of Souls, and allow men to set up a shop of poyson, for all men to buy and take that will, yea to proclaim this poyson for Souls in *Streets*, and *Church Assemblies* ? &c. *I. id.* But the same Argument that tempts the sensuall to Hell ; doth tempt such Magistrates to set up *Liberty* for drawing men to Hell. *Ibid.* Is Faith and Holynesse propagated by *Perswasion*, and not by *Force* ? Surely then Infidelity, Popery and Ungodlynesse are Propagated by *Perswasion* too ; Again I tell you, self-love doth make such Rulers wiser then to grant Commission at liberty to all that will, to tice the Souldiers to Mutinies and Rebellion, &c. *Ibid.* Liberty, in all mat ers of Worship, and of Faith, is the open and apparent way to set up Popery in the Land. *Non-  
Con. Plea. Pref.*

Mr. Richard  
an Improper  
Advocate for  
Toleration.

*M.* Well Mr. Richard : After *this* frank and sensible Declaration of your self upon this Chapter, do but teach me which way in the world to reconcile your *Practice* and your *Conscience* ; for you are a Person certainly of all men Living, the most Improper Advocate for a *Toleration* ; and the most unfit *Solicitor* of a *Popular Petition*. *First*, as your *Judgement* lies directly against the thing you pleade for. *Secondly*, as you are conscious of the *danger*, as well as the *Injustice* of such a *License*. *Thirdly*, you have been a very *unhappy Instrument* already betwixt his *Majesty* and his *Subjects*. And *Lastly*, In demanding That over again from This King, by which his Father was destroy'd, you make your self suspected to have some Ill Designe : For to Triumph and Rejoyce (as you do) after the Thing is done, is lesse, a great deal, then to forethink the doing of it. And it is not only that you are sufficiently convinc'd of the mischiefs of a *Toleration*, but *your Conscience* ( if I be not much mistaken )



staken will make as good a shift as any mans without it.

Ri. 11. are against no Bishop or Church-Government of Richard is a Gods Appointment. Prof. of Non-conformists P. 89. [ We hold Conformists it not unlawful to take Oathes, and make Covenants, Subscriptions, or Declarations of things Lawfull, when Authority commandeth us. Ibid. P. 98. We readily Subscribe the doctrine of the 39. Articles. Ib. 98. We are far from condemning all Forms of Prayer, and Publick Liturgy, P. 100. We pick no Quarrells about Forms and Words. Church-Div. p. 176. [ Tell me if you can, where God forbids you to use Good and Lawfull Words in Prayer, meerly because the Magistrate, or Pastor bids you use them. Is this the meaning of all the Precepts of Honouring, and Obeying your Superiours? [ Do nothing which they bid you do, though otherwise Lawful ] O Strange Exposition of the 4th Commandment? p. 178. [ I take the Common Prayer to be incomparably better then the Prayers or Sermons, of many that I hear; and to be the best that I expect in many places when I go to Church. R.Bs. Letter to Mr. Hinckly p. 78. [ It's like, the Pharisees Long Liturgy, was in many things worse then Ours, though the Psalmes were a great part of it: and yet Christ, and his Apostles oft joyned with Them, and never Condemned them. Ch. Div. P. 176. [ He is void of Common sense that thinketh that his Extemporary Prayer is not as truly a Form to all the People, as if it had been written in a Book. And every Publick Minister Imposeth a Form of Prayer upon all the Congregation. Ibid. 179. [ We hold, not all the use of Images, even the Images of Holy Persons, to be Unlawfull. Profession of Nonconformists. P. 104. [ We hold not a Gown, or other meer distinctive Garment for Ministers to be Unlawful. And some of us hold a Surplice rather to be used, then the Ministry forsaken. Ibid. [ Many of us hold it Lawfull to communicate Kneeling Ibid. p. 105. [ We all hold that God must be Orderly, and Decently Worshiped with the Body, as well as Spiritually, with the minde. And that Reverend Gestures, and Behaviours are fit, not only to expresse Mental Reverence to God, but also to Excite it, in our selves and others. Ibid. 105. We are for the use of the Creed, Commandements, and Lords Prayer. p. 106.

Ba. [ It is now about Twenty Years since I Preach'd at a Fast to the Parliament for Loyalty; the King the next morn-  
 D 2 ing

Mr. Baxter's  
Sermon that  
brought the  
King in.

Presbytery for  
the Lords sake

Oh the happy  
times when  
Presbyterians  
rul'd.

Have a care of  
scandalous  
Inventions.  
The Ignorant  
Church-Ty-  
rants.

Richard not  
absolutely a-  
gainst the  
Crosse.

ing was voted home to his Crown, and Government, 2d part. of Non-  
Con. Plea. Preface. In This Sermon, I have given the World a  
Tast of my Affections to the Church. [Gentlemen, I have  
nothing to ask of you for my self, nor any of my Brethren, as  
for Themselves; but that you will be Friends to Serious Preaching,  
and Holy Living, and will not ensnare our Consciences with any  
Unscripturall Inventions of men. This I would beg of you as on  
my Knees. 1. As for the sake of Christ. 2. for the sake of Thou-  
sands of poor Souls. 3. For the Sake of Thousands of the dear Friends  
of the Lord. 4. For your own sakes. 5. For the sake of your Posterity.  
6. For the Honour of the Nation and your Selves. 7. For the Ho-  
nour of Sound doctrine, and Church-Government. &c. Pa. 43. and  
46. For if you Frown on Godlynesse, under pretense of Uniformi-  
ty in Unnecessary things; and make things worse then when Li-  
bertinism, and Schisme so prevail'd: the people will look back  
with Groans, and say; What happy times did we once See! And  
so will honour Schisme, and Libertinisme, and Usurpation, through  
Your Oppression. 8. I beg this of you for the Honour of Sou-  
reignty, and the Nations Peace. Ibid. And then for your [new-  
made Religions, and needles Scandalous Inventions, and an a-  
doring of your Titles and Robes of Honour, covering your ig-  
norance, Pride, and Sensuality, which Church Tyrants call the  
Order of the Church. &c. [All the Images of Piety, Govern-  
ment, Unity, Peace, and Order, which Hypocrites and Phari-  
sees sat up, are despised Engines to destroy the Life and Seri-  
ous Practice of the things Themselves, and are set up in Enmi-  
ty against Spirituality, and Holyness, that there might be no  
other Piety, Government, Unity, Peace, or Order in the  
Church, but These Liveless Images. Ch. Div. Pa. 105. &  
106.

Ri. [Though we are not satisfied of the lawfullness of using the  
Transient Image of the Crosse, as a dedicating Sign, and Symbol  
of Christianity, so much Sacramental (much lesse to refuse from  
Baptisme, and Christendome, all Christian Infants, unless they will  
havethem so Crossed, no more then if a Crucifix were so Imposed, and  
used) yet do we not Condemn all use of either Crosse, or Crucifix.  
Nor do we presume Conscientiously to Reproach, and dishonour the An-  
tient Christians, who living among Pagans that derided Christ Cru-  
cify'd, did shew them, by oft using this sign, that they were not asha-  
med of the Crosse. And though we find, that they used more Rites,

and significations, devised Signs, and Ceremonies, then we think they should have done, yet we judge it our Duty to love and honour their Memorial; Nor do we take all Rites to be Sinfull that are significant. Non-conformists Profession Pa. 103. 104.

Ba. You are not satisfy'd of the Lawfulness, &c. you say. *Baxter a*  
But are you convinc'd of the Unlawfulness? For [we must obey Loyallist.  
Magistrates though we know not that their Commands are  
Lawful, so long as they are so Indeed, and we have no suffici-  
ent reason to believe them Unlawfull. *Holy Cm. Thesis. 323.*  
For [It is not our Erroneous Conceits, that a Lawfull Com-  
mand is Unlawfull, that will excuse any man from the Guilt of  
Disobedience. *Ibid. 357.* [But if a thing seem to you very  
needfull to a Good End, and yet the word be against it, avoid it:  
&c. [And if you think that the Scripture commandeth you of Nature, and  
This or That Positive means, if Nature and True Reason assure true Reason  
you that it is against the End, and is like to do much more avoids all Law  
harm, then good, be assured that you mistake That Scripture.  
*Ch. Divis. pa. 205.*

Mo. It is a strange thing Mr Richard, that your  
Conscience should be so easy to yourself, and yet so  
Troublesome to the Government. But your Reserve of  
leaving every Private man to judge, First, of the  
Condition of the Law, by the Word; and Then, of  
his Judgment of That Scripture, whether it be Right  
or Wrong, by Nature and Right Reason: This Reserve  
I say undoes all again: For every man that does Ill,  
with a Good Intention, reckons that he has Nature  
and Right Reason on his side.

Now for You Mr. Baxter; you tell us over and over  
so often of your Fast-Sermon to the House of Com-  
mons, and the Kings being called in the next day,  
as if That very Sermon had wrought his Majestiss Re-  
stitution, But I find upon Perusal of it that you are  
just as kind to the Church in this Piece of 1660. as  
you were a litle before to his Majesty in your Holy  
Common Wealth of 1659, That is to say; you are beg-  
ging.

The Presbyter-  
ian way of  
bringing in  
the King.

ging, argūing, and Casing of it all that is in you, to keep them both out; and truly This Particular piece of yours makes almost as bold with the *King himself*, as with the *Episcopal Clergy*: as you shall hear by and by. Was it not enough for you to *Adjure* the *Commons* into an Opposition of That *Order* in the *Church*, which (as he tells you) is as *Antient* as the *Monarchy* of This *Island*? An *Order*, that you and your *Confederates* most *Undutifully destroy'd*? But could you now have the Confidence to demand the spoils again, which you first ravish'd from the *Church*, and the *Independents* afterward took from you, as the Reward of your *Sedition*, and *Schism*? And could you yet have the greater Confidence, in case of a Disappointment, to break out into this most *Unchristian Exclamation*, on the behalf of the People? Oh: [ *What happy times did we once see! That is to say; when the Kingdome was Laid in Blood, and Ashes; all that was Sacred, trampled under Foot, And all this Confusion, only to heave the Presbyter into the Saddle.* ]

Richards  
challenge,

In justificati-  
on of the Non-  
Conformists.

The Non-  
Conformists  
charge.

A Presbyterian  
defin'd.

Ri. *I have describ'd the Judgment of such Non-conformists as I have conversed with, ( not undertaking for every odd person whom I know not ) I do desire those that seek our Blood, and Ruine, by the false Accusation of Rebellious Principles, to tell me if they can, [ what Bodies, or Party of men on Earth have more sound and Loyal Principles of Government, and Obedience. 2d. Part. Non-Con. Plea. Pref. [ Our Accusations are. 1. That we are Presbyterians, and Phanatiques. 2. That we began the War in 1641. and 1642. 3. That we destroy'd the King. 4. That our Principles are Disloyal. 5. That we are Plotting a Rebellion. Ibid. But what is a Presbyterian? ]*

Mo. A Presbyterian is a Member of a State Faction, under a Religious denomination. For by that Name we do not understand such as are really of That *Classical* and *Whymfical Profession*; but a sort of People that drive

drive on a *Political design*, under the Colour of an *Ecclesiastical Scruple of persuasion*. And in as extensive a Latitude do you take the Word, your selves. For all the *Sects* are *Presbyterians* (or *Dissenting Protestants*, as you call them) when you have need of them in Con-  
 federacy against the Government; though the *Presby-  
 terians* spew all the rest up again, (as they did in 1647. when they had done their work;) But pray what say ye to the *Beginning of the War*?

Ri. [In 1642. the Lamentable Civil War broke out; At Richard says which time as far as ever we could learn by Acquaintance with some of them, and Report of others, excepting an Inconsiderable number, the Houses of Lords and Commons consisted of Those that had still lived in Conformity to the Church of England, and the Episcopal Government, &c. 1 Part. Non-Conform. Plea. p. 126. [The Lord Lieutenants whom the Parliament chose, were almost all Episcopal Conformists, Ibid. [The far Greater Part of the General Officers, Colonells, Lieutenant-Colonells, and Majors of the Earl of Essex's Army; And of the Sea-Captains, and of the Major-Generals of Brigades, and Counties about the Land, bid [The Assembly of Divines at Westminster also, were men that had lived in Conformity, except about 8. or 9. and the Scots, p. 127.

Mo. You do well Richard to say that they *HAD* Lived in Conformity, for the Complying humour was now going off apace; Inasmuch that a protest opposition to the Orders of the Church became quickly a distinguishing mark of the disloyal Party: And all those *Parliament men*; *Officers*, and *Assembly-Divines*, Contributed Unanimously in their several Stations toward the Common Ruine. On [Fryday Dec. 11. 1640. A Petition was brought into the House by *Al-  
 derman Pennington* from the Citizens of *London*, in the name of 15000. Complaining of the *Church-Discipline*, in having *Arch-Bishops*, *Bishops*, &c. Using the *Crosse* in *Baptisme*; *Kneeling at the Communion-Table*, as un-  
 lawful

Presbyterians  
 swallow up all  
 other Sects at  
 first, and then  
 spew them up  
 again.

The two Hou-  
 ses, Lord Lieu-  
 tenants, Offi-  
 cers, Civil and  
 Military, As-  
 sembly of Divi-  
 nes, almost  
 all Episcopal  
 men.

The Kings en-  
 gaged Enemies  
 were all dis-  
 senters.

Episcopacy  
 first, and be-  
 fore the War.

lawfull in the *Protestant Church. Diurnal Occurrences.*  
*Pa. 12. Jan 13.* Petition against the Government of  
 Bishops from Several Counties. *P. 16. Jan. 13.* The  
 Remonstrance with 700. hands against the Bishops  
 and their *Prelacy* was read, *P. 33. March 7.* A Bill  
 against Episcopacy read in the House of Commons,  
 &c. *Pa. 47. Mar. 10. 1640.* Bishops Votes in Par-  
 liament taken away, *Pa. 49. in Novem. 1641.* several  
 Tumults against Bishops, and *Dec. 11, 12.* Bishops  
 accused of High-Treason. The Bishops in the mean  
 time Petitioning his Majesty, and entering a Protest of  
 their Priviledges, and against Tumults. *Apr. 2. 1642.*  
 A due and necessary Reformation of the Govern-  
 ment and Liturgy of the Church pretended. *Ex.*  
*Col. P. 135.*

It is to be hoped, that all These violences upon the  
 Ecclesiastical State, and the Persons of the Bishops,  
 were not acted by Conformists. And it will not be  
 deny'd, I suppose that after the Posting and Proscrib-  
 ing of the Greater part of the Clergies Friends, (as  
 well as the Kings ) The Schismatical Interest was  
 carry'd on by the Major vote of the Remaining Frag-  
 ment; and all This was before the Eruption of the  
 War; the Earl of *Essex* not receiving his Commission,  
 till *July 12. 1642.* Unless you'll say that *Episcopal* men  
 themselves, were for the *Extirpation* of Bishops.

The Parlia-  
 ment brought  
 in the Scots.

Few worthier  
 Assemblies  
 since the Apo-  
 stles days.

Ri. [ When the Parliaments Armys were worsted and weakened  
 by the King, and they found themselves in danger of being Overcom,  
 they intreated help from the Scots ( 'tis true ) who taking advantage  
 of their streights, brought in the Covenant, as the Condition of their  
 help. Non-Conf. i part. p. 27. And for the Assembly, [ I think  
 I have not read of many Assemblies of Worthier men since the A-  
 postles days. Answ. to Dr. Stillingfleet. p 84. The Covenant  
 and Vow, was taken by the Parliament, and by their Garisons, and  
 Soldiers that would voluntarily take it as a Test whom they might  
 Trust.



*True Non-Conf. Plea.* p. 128. [ *The Assembly never endeavoured to turn the Independents out of the Parish-Churches, and Benefices, nor to Silence them ; forbidding them Publick Preaching, as you do us, &c.* *Answ. to Dr. Stillingf.* p. 14. *They Imposed no Liturgy, no one Ceremony ; no Practice on them, contrary to their Conscience,* p. 85. *The Presbytery being only a Tolerated, or Intended thing, without any Imposition that ever we knew of.*

Their good nature toward the Independents.

*Mo.* It is very well known what pains your Celebrated Assembly took to make the City bleed for That *Scottish* expedition, and we have the *Guild hall Harangues* on That Occasion, still upon Record. But I shall rather mind you of some Proceedings which you would be thought to have forgotten ; to the Immortal Honour of your Confederates. Only half a dozen Words in the way to it-

The Guild-Hall harangues that brought in the Scots.

It is no wonder for men that have so low an Esteem for *Generall Counsellors*, as both *Jon Sir*, and *Mr. Baxter* profess to have, in several of your Writings, to entertain yet very Reverend Thoughts of the *Pybald Assembly*. His Late Majesty had quite another Opinion of them. See his *Proclamation, Inhibiting the Assembly of Divines, and others Summoned to Westminster, by an Ordinance of Both Houses of Parliament.* *Bibliotheca Regia.* P. 328. *Jun.* 22. 1643.

*Whereas there hath been a long time, a desperate and Seditions design amongst diverse Factionous persons, to alter the whole Frame, Constitution, and Government of this Church ; so long and so happily Established within this Kingdom ; in pursuance whereof they have discountenanced, and in a manner suppressed the Book of Common Prayer, settled by Law ; driven away, Imprisoned, Removed, very many Learned, Orthodox, Godly Divines, and Ministers from their Cures, for discharging their duty and Conscience in Preaching : and in their places, without the least colour or shadow of Lawfull Authority, have Instituted,*

His Majesties Proclamation against the Assembly of Divines.  
*Jun.* 22. 1643.

Painful, Able,  
Laborious  
Ministers.

The Loyall  
Presbyterians.

The Refor-  
mation begun

*ted, or Deputed mean Factions Persons Unqualify'd with Learning or Virtue; to corrupt and poyson the minds of our Good Subjects, with Principles of reason and Rebellion, and have seized the Rents and Revenues of our Bishops, Deans, and Chapters, for their own private Lucre, or Benefit, and for the Maintenance of the Army in Rebellion against us.*

Pray Observe my Friends, that this was before the Scots were call'd in; and the work of men too in Opposition to the Church: I come now to your *Apostolical Assembly.*

Kings Procla-  
mation.

A Dutiful  
Proposition.

The Worthy  
Assembly.

The Kings  
Authority ex-  
cluded.

*Since These bloody distempers, and when so many Armies are on Foot in several parts of the Kingdom, a Bill hath been presented to us for the Calling of an Assembly, of such Divines, as are mentioned in the said Bill, the far greater part whereof are men of no Reputation or Learning; and eminently disaffected to the Government of the Church of England: and very many of them are persons who have openly preached Rebellion, and incited the People to take up Armes against us, and so are not like to be proper Instruments of Peace, in Church, or State; which Bill having many Clauses in it very derogatory to our Honour, and just Rights, and very Scandalous to the Reformed Protestant Religion: not so much as any part being left to Us, either in the Choice of the Persons, or in Adjourning or Dissolving the Assembly. Bib. Regia. Pa. 329.*

What do you think now of the *Worthy Assembly*? your [Men of sound, and Loyall Principles of Government, and Obedience. These are the Men that you declare your selves Resolved to stand or fall by; (and out of your own mouths a Man may warrant This Assertion; that you are no better Friends to *This King*, then that *Parliament* and that *Assembly* were to the *Last*. Methinks This Testimony of his Late Majesty against your designs, and Proceedings, should move your

Con-



Consciencés and stare you in the Faces, as if it were his Ghost.

You would have the world believe that the *Covenant* was never Imposed, but that people might take it, or let it alone, as they pleased ; That the *Assembly* silenced no body ; forced nothing ; and that Presbytery was only as a *Tolerated*, or *Intended* thing, &c. Now how great an Abuse this is upon That part of the Nation that does not know the story, will appear out of the Memorials of These Times, under the Authority of the Faction it self.

An Abuse put upon the Nation.

The Lords and Commons took the Vow and Covenant *Jun. 6. 1643. Husbands Collections. Fol. 203.* and thought fit to have it taken by the Armies, and Kingdome. *Ibid. Arch-Bishop of Canterburies* Temporal Livings, Dignities, and Ecclesiastical Promotions Sequestered, *June 10. 1643. Fol. 207.* an Ordinance for calling an Assembly of Learned Divines ( *Thirty of the Layety, in the Commission.* ) *June 24. 208.* An Order for Ministers upon the Fast-day to pray for a blessing on this Assembly. *June 27. 43.* The Assembly Petitions Both Houses for a Fast, and the removing of Blind Guides, and Scandalous Ministers ; destroying Monuments of Idolatry, &c. *July 10. 1643. Fol. 240.* [ An Order for Divines that attend the Assembly, to go into the Country to stir up the people to rise for their Defense. *Aug. 10. 1643. Fol. 285.* [ An Ordinance for taking away of Superstitious Monuments. *Aug. 28. 1643. Fol. 307.* An Ordinance to examine Witnesses against Scandalous Ministers, *Sep. 6. 1643. Fol. 311.* Souldiers to take the Covenant, *Octob. 10. Fol. 359.* An Order for the Assembly of Divines, to treat of a Discipline and Government, the present to be abolished, and to prepare a Directory. *Octo. 12. 1643. Fol. 362.* An Order for returning the

An Extraet of Parliament Proceedings. 1643.

The Assembly stir up the people to rise.

Names of such as take not the Covenant to the House of Commons, *Nov. 30. 1643. Fol. 390.* An Order for diverse persons to take the Covenant at *Margaret Westminster. Dec. 12. 1643. Fol. 399.* An Ordinance disabling any person within the City of *London*, from any place of Trust, that shall not take the Covenant. *Dec. 20. 1643. Fol. 404.* An exhortation for taking the Covenant, &c. *Feb. 9. 1644. Fol. 422.* An Order for taking it throughout the Kingdomes of *England*, and *Scotland*, with *Instructions. Feb. 9. 1644. Fol. 420.* A Second Order for demolishing Superstitious Monuments. *May 9. 1644. Fol. 487.* An Order for none to Preach, but Ordained Ministers, except allowed by Both Houses of Parliament, *May 6. 1645. Fol. 646.* An Order for putting the Directory in Execution. *Aug. 11. 1645. Fol. 715.* Severall Votes for choice of Elders throughout all *England*, and *Wales. Feb. 20. 1646. Fol. 809.* An Order for taking the Negative Oath, and National Covenant. *Jun. 2. 1646. Fol. 889.* An Order for putting the Orders of Church-Government in execution. *Jun. 9. 1646. Fol. 889.* An Order for dividing the County of *Lancashire*, into 9. *Classes, Octob. 2. 1646, Fol. 919.* An Order for Abolishing Arch-Bishops, and Bishops, and settling their Lands upon Trustees for the use of the Common-Wealth. *Octob. 9. 1646. Fol. 992.* An Order for the speedy dividing and settling of several Counties of This Kingdom, into distinct *Classical Presbyteries*, and *Congregational Elderships. Jan. 19. 1647. Scobells Act, 139.* The Form of Church-Government to be used in the Church of *England*, and *Ireland*, agreed upon by the Lords and Commons, assembled in Parliament, after Advice had with the Assembly of Divines. *Aug. 29. 1648. Fol. 165.*

By this time I hope you are satisfy'd that it was a <sup>Prov'd to be</sup> Presbyterian War according to the very Letter, Or <sup>a Presbyterian</sup> if the Nonconformists did not begin the War, pray'e who bid?

Ri. *Our Calamities began in Differences about Religion, and Richard says, fill That's the wound that most needs Closing, &c.* R. B's. Fast Sermon. 1660. p. 41. <sup>the War began about Religion.</sup>

Ba. Do not you know, that write about the Cause, that the War was not founded in *Theologicall differences*, but in *Law* <sup>Baxter says, it began about matter of Law.</sup> *differences*? R. B's. *Letter to Mr. Hieckly.* p. 25.

Ri. *The first open beginning was the Militia, Non. Conf. Plea.* <sup>Richard I says, it was about the Militia.</sup> p. 126.

Ba. I know how unsatisfy'd many are concerning the Lawfullness of the War; I cannot yet perceive by any thing which they object, but that we undertook our Defence upon warrantable Grounds. The extirpation of Piety was the then great Designe, which had so far succeeded, that very many of the most able Ministers were silenced; Lecturers, and Evening-Sermons on the Lords Day suppressed; Christians imprisoned, dismembred, and Banished; the Lords Day reproached, and devoted to Pastimes; that it was as much as a mans Estate (at least) was worth, to hear a Sermon abroad, when he had none, or worse at home; To meet for Prayer, or any Godly Exercise; and that it was a matter of Credit, and a way to Perferment to revile at, and be enemies against those that were most Conscientious; And every where safer to be a drunkard, or an Adulterer, then a painfull Christian: And that multitudes of Humane Ceremonies took place, when the worship of Christs Institution was cast out, besides the slavery that Invaded us in Civil Respects: So am I MOST CERTAIN that this was the work which *We took up Arms to resist*: And these were the Offenders whom we endeavour'd to Offend. And many of those that scruple the Lawfulness of our War, did never scruple the Lawfulness of destroying us; nor of that dolefull havock, and Subversion that was made in the Church of Christ amongst us.

The

<sup>A lewd scandal upon the late Kings Government.</sup>

The fault was, that we would not more willingly change the Gospel for Ignorance, and our Religion for a Fardel of Ceremonies. *R. B's. Saints Rest.* p. 257. 258.

Richard will not allow of war for Religion.

Ri. [ *But the Kings Subjects may not enter into Leagues, Covenants and Arms against him, without his consent, and Laws, merely to propagate Religion and Reformation in the Kingdom.* Non-conf. Plea, 2d. part, pa. 77. [ *If Governors command us to sin against God, Subjects must not obey, but yet not Resist; Much less take up Arms to Reform Others, or even to bring in a True Religion by Unauthorised Violence.* Ibid. p. 56.

Baxter is for a Religious War.

They are fools that think otherwise.

Ba. It is but a delusory course of some in These Times that write many Volumes, to prove, that *Subjects* may not bear Arms against their *Princes* for Religion. *Ho. Common-wealth*, p. 141. [ *It is either Confusion and Ignorance of the State of the Question, or palpable error in them that maintain, that it is unlawfull to fight for Religion. It is one thing to fight to make others Religious, and another thing to fight to preserve our own Religion, and to preserve the means of Religion, to us, and the Nation, and our Posterity, Ibid. Persecutors will take away our Lives or Liberties, if we worship God according to his Will, and use the necessary means of Salvation. In fighting against this Persecution, we fight principally, and ultimately, for our Own, and Posterities Salvation, and next, for the Necessary means thereto, and Proximately for our Lives and Liberties.* Ibid.

In case of persecution we fight for our own, and our posterities salvation.

Mo. The Rancour, and Inhumanity of This Scandal makes me take the Lesse notice of your shifts and contradictions; so that I shall wave the Course of your Reasoning, and speak a Word to your Conscience.

The late Kings sufferings forgotten among greater grievances.

Pray'e cast a back Thought upon the Piety, the Moderation, the Unexampled sufferings and Constancy of That Incomparable Prince, whose Government, and Administration is here so Diabolically Traduc'd. It is a wonderfull thing to me, that the Legal Justice that was executed upon two or three

Conte

Contumacious Schismatiques, should be so fresh in your Memory, and yet the Tragedy of that Royal, and Protestant Martyr that fell a Sacrifice to the Idol of your Enthusiastical Reformation should be so utterly forgotten. How can you so call to mind the silencing of a Stubborn Cabal of Lawless Mutineers; And the Bloud of *Canterbury*, your Sacrilegious Robbing, and Taking Possession, not fly in the Faces of your Complices? Especially considering how much you your selves have contributed to the common Fate.

Ri. [How far the Parliament was from being Presbyterians, may be seen in the Propositions sent from them by the Earl of Essex, to the King at Nottingham, and partly their defeating all the desires and endeavours of Those that would have Presbytery settled thero in the Land. We know of no places, but London and Lancashire, where it was commonly taken up, and some little of it at Coventry, and some few such places, Non-Conf. Plea, 1st. part, 128.

Presbytery not settled, says Rich. rd.

Ba. [It is not known that the Presbyterian Government hath been exercised in London, in Lancashire, and in many Counties these many years? 5. Disp. Pref. 28. 29. [Look into this County where I live, and you shall finde a faithful, humble, laborious Ministry, Associated, and walking in as great Unity as ever I read of since the Apostles Days: No Difference, no Quarrels, but sweet and amicable Correspondency, and Communion, that I hear of. Was there such a Ministry, or such Love and Concord, or such a Godly People under them in the Prelates Reign? There was not: Where we had Ten drunken Readers Then, we have not One now; and where we had One Able, Godly Preacher Then, we have many Now: and This is our Loss and misery in these times, which you so much lament. *Ibid.*

Baxter contradicts him, And comforts himself with comparing the days of Richard Protector with Charles I.

Ten schismatical Hypocrites Now for One formerly

Mo. This last passage I finde in a Preface Entitled [To those of the Nobility, Gentry, and Commons of This Land that adhere to Prelacy: Published in the year 1659. and usher'd in, by an Epistle Dedicatory, [To his Highness Richard Lord Protector of the Common Wealth of England

Baxters Complaint to the Sons of the Church, 1659

Richard Cromwell's faithfull Subjects.

England, Scotland, and Ireland: with this expressi-  
on in the last Page. [ Your zeal for God will kindle  
in your SUBJECTS a zeal for You: and for a Farenell,  
[ A Faithfull Subject to your Highness, as you are  
an Officer of the Universal King.

Richard Baxter.

Mr. Baxters,  
Political Aphorismes  
composed ex-  
pressly to keep  
out the King.

It is worthy of a Note Mr. Baxter, that your Pen  
cuts more still in 1659. then it did in seven years be-  
fore, and that your Humour runs much, ( about  
That season ) upon Casuistical Points, and the Colla-  
tion of Affairs, and Times. Now all the Reason I  
can discern for your change of *Topique* still upon That  
*Crisis*, is This. The Wheel was almost come round  
again, and Rebellion upon the very point of finishing  
its Course. For they had run the *Monorchy* down,  
into an *Aristocracy*; That, into a *Democracy*; Cromwell  
took up the Government next, in a *Single Person*. But  
all these Successive Usurpations were so Grievous, and  
Insupportable to the people, that necessarily the next  
Remove must be the Restoring of the *King*, to perfect  
the *Revolution*. Now so soon as ever you discover'd the  
dawning but of the least hope for his Majesties Restau-  
ration. what Mists did you presently cast before the  
Peoples Eyes in your *Political Aphorismes*, upon the  
Question of *Authority*, and *Obedience*? What pains  
did you take to possesse the Nation with an Opinion  
of the blessed differences betwixt the State of Matters  
uoder *Richard* the *Usurper*, and *Charls* the *Martyr*?  
and to hammer into the heads of the Multitude, the  
danger of *Re-admitting* their *Lawfull Sovereign*? Pray'e  
tell me Sir, was Mr. *Dance's Sequestred Living*, and  
your Little *Worcestershire Association* so Inestimable a  
Prize, that you could part with the *Blond* of a most

Religion



*Religious Prince*; the *Lives* of at least *Four score Thou-*  
*land Christians*; the *Order* of the *Government*, both in  
*Church and State*; your *Lives, Liberties, and Estates*;  
 the *Peace, Honour, and Well being* of *Three Kingdoms*,  
 and all This, in *Exchange* for *Infamy, Beggery, and*  
*Bondage*, and yet reckon your self a *Gainer* by the  
*Bargain*?

Ri. *The Common-wealths-men persecuted me and Others, so far* Poor Richard  
*as to make Orders to Sequester us, for not taking the Engagement*; like to have  
*and for not keeping their Fasts and Thanksgivings for the Wars a-* sequestered  
*gainst Scotland.* R. B's. 2d. *Admonition to Bagshaw.* p. 90. for not fasting  
and praying  
against the  
Scots.

Ba. [It is a dreadfull Observation to see so much of the Spi-  
 rit of *Malignity* possessing those that once said they fought a-  
 gainst *Malignants*; and that the *Ministers* and *Servants* of the  
 Lord, are rayled at by men and *Themselves*, as formerly they were  
 by the worst of Those that their hands destroyed; and with  
 this dreadfull Aggravation, that Then it was but *Some* that  
 were Reviled, and now, with many, it is *All*. Then, it was  
 but under the Name of *Puritans*, and *Round heads*; and Now it  
 is openly, as *Ministers*, under the Name of *Priests*, and *Black-*  
*Coats*, and *Presbyters* and *Pulpiters*. *Self-denial, Ep. Monitory.*

The Spirit of  
Malignity has  
taken posses-  
sion of the Army.

The Presbyte-  
rians persecut-  
ed.

Mo. This is to Intimate that the *Presbyterians* were The Presbyte-  
 under a *Persecution*, Who were the *Persecutors*, I be- rians Journey-  
 seech ye? Even *Your own Journey men*; who when men (the Ar-  
 they had wrought *Sedition* long enough under you, my) set up for  
 took the Trade into their Own hands, and set up for themselves.  
 Themselves. And that you may not value your selves  
 upon the Merits of your sufferings; Pray'e what was  
 it that you suffer'd for? *Presbytery* is too *Tyrannical*  
 for the spirit of an *Independent* to bear. The Stomack Somewhat of  
 of That Party would not brook it, and so they cast it an accomoda-  
 up again: For there is, though a *Licentious*, yet some- Generosity  
 what of a *Practical*, and *Accomodable Generosity* in that in the Inde-  
 Party. But are not you aware, Gentlemen, that the pendents.  
 F worse

worse you speak of these people, the greater is your  
 Condemnation ; for making the *Episcopal Party* still  
 more *Insupportable* then *These*, at the very *Worst*?

The poor  
 Presbyterians  
 persecuted by  
 the Army, for  
 not joyning  
 against the  
 Scots.

Oh the per-  
 secution of for-  
 cing men a-  
 gainst their  
 Consciences.

But so long as  
 they do not  
 suffer as evil-  
 doers.

No persecu-  
 tion to op-  
 press the  
 Church and  
 all that love it.

Ri. [*Was it not Persecution, when many Anabaptists and Se-  
 paratists made such work in England, Scotland, and Ireland, in  
 Cromwells time, and after, as they did? when so many were turn'd  
 out of the Univerſities for not Engaging, and so many out of the  
 Magistracy, and Corporation-Priviledges? And when an Ordi-  
 nance was made to cast out all Ministers who would not pray for the  
 successe of the Wars against Scotland, or that would not give God  
 thanks for their Victories. When I have heard them profess, that  
 there were many Thousand Godly men, that were kill'd at Dunbar (in  
 instance in no other) and yet WE were all by their Ordinance to be  
 cast out, that would not give God thanks for This. Ch. Div. Pa.  
 256. 1668. What more harsh kinde of Persecution could there be then  
 to force men to go Hypocritically to God against their Consciences, and  
 take on them to beg for the Successe of a War which they Judge'd Un-  
 lawfull. and to return him a Publick Counterfeit Thanks for Blood-  
 shed; yea, for the blond of Thousands? &c. Ibid.*]

Ba. Only See to This Brethren, that none of you suffers as an  
 evill-doer ; as a busy-Body in other mens Matters ; as a Refitter  
 of the Commands of Lawfull Authority ; as Ungratefull to  
 Those that have been Instruments of our Good ; as evill-Speak-  
 ers against Dignities ; as Opposers of the Discipline, and Or-  
 dinances of Christ ; as Scornfull Revilers of your Christian Bre-  
 thren ; as Reproachers of a Laborious, Judicious, Conscien-  
 tious Ministry, &c. *Saints Rest. Pa. 131.*

Mo. You do not speak I suppose of the *Seven or  
 Eight and Twenty Cathedralls* that were *Defaced* ; The  
 115. *Ministers* forced out of their Livings within the  
*Bills of Mortality* : nor of the History of *Querela Car-  
 tabrigiensis*. You accounted it no *Persecution* the for-  
 cing of men to Pray for the Successe of a *Rebellion*  
 against their *Sovereign* ; and to give God thanks for  
 the Victories over the King, and the Loyal Assertors  
 of his Majesties, and the Churches Rights and Go-  
 vernmept.

As for you, Mr. *Baxter*, your Counsell is very good, if it were not that in the *Dignities*, and *Lawfull Powers* you have plac'd the *Crown* upon the *wrong head*: and directed an Obedience to the *Faction*, in stead of the *King*: after your usual Method of *Crushing* the *One*, to *Advance* the *Other*. But it will be a hard matter I believe to convince you that the *Presbyterians* destroy'd the *King*, and that they did it as *Presbyterians* too, though I reckon it to be very easily Probable both from their *Practises*, and *Positions*. And This I should not at This time have made the *Question*, but that your self Mr. *Baxter*, have been pleased to bring it upon the *Carpet*.

Mr. *Baxter* places the Crown upon the wrong Head.

The King destroyed by Presbyterians, as Presbyterians.

Ba. [The Generality of the *Orthodox*, *Sober Ministers*, and Godly people of This Nation, did never consent to *King-Killing*, and *Resisting Sovereign Power*, nor to the Change of the *Antient Government* of this Land. But they have been True to their Allegiance, and Detesters of Unfaithfullness and Ambition in Subjects; and Resisters of Heresy and Schisme in the Church, and of Anarchy, and Democraticall Confusions in the Common-wealth. R.B. *Sermon before the Commons*, *Anna.* 30. 1660. *Pa.* 44.

The Loyalty of *Faxters* Orthodox sober Ministers.

Ri. It is most certain Brother, that we did never directly consent, (as you say) But Unhappily there hath been a difference among us which is the higher Power, when Those that have their Share in the Sovereignty, are divided: But whether we should be Subject to the higher Power, is no question with us. Ibid. 45.

Richard Subject to the Higher power, but not resolved which it is.

Mo. If by your *Orthodox*, *Sober Ministers* you mean, the *Episcopal Divines*, your Assertion holds good, or in a Litterall Construction either; but if you intend the *Non-Conformists*, under these Two Epithets of *Orthodox*, and *Sober*; What do ye think of Mr. *Manton*, *Calamy*, *Cafe*, *Douglas*, *Burton*, *Herle*, *Goodwyn*, *Woodcock*, *Brooks*, *Bridges*, *Marshall*, *Cockayn*, *Faircloth*, An Even score of Orthodox sober Divines.

*cloath, Saltmarsh, Sterry, Strickland, Newcomen?* And for Brevity sake, *F. O. W. F.* and *R. B.* shall make them up an even score. I could shew ye how these Reverend Authors have traced the *King killing Cause*, from the very *Egg* to the *Apple*; (as they say) Preach'd the *Lawfullness* of the *War*; the *People* into a *Rebellion*; the *Kings Head* to the *Block*; and then Justify'd all when they had done. And yet who but these men of Blood, to Quarrell with the Government, because they cannot get themselves Priviledg'd above the *Peaceable* and *Obedient Sons* of the Church?

The last  
Kings blood  
not valu'd at  
a Ceremony.

What do ye think of the Author of *CELEUSMA*, that told the Commons in a Sermon *Sept. 25. 1656*. [ That the Remove of Prelatical Innovations Countervail'd for the Blood and Treasure shed and spent in the Late Distractions: ] Is not this person now with his *Clamor ad Cælum*, a very *hopefull Solicitor* for a *second Reformation*? He that has Solemnly declared, that **[ If the Re=Imposing of Ceremonies could have brought the Late King to Life again, he would never have yielded to it. ]** At the Rate of Computation, why shall not a *Ceremony* at this day, out-weigh the Life of the Son, as Formerly it did That of the Father? But what needs more proof then the very Order of *Aug. 10. 1643. For the Assembly-Divines to stir up the People to rise for their Defence?*

There is another person also who is engaged in This present Controversy, to whom I would gladly Recommend a due Consideration of this following Extract.

[ When

[ When Kings Command Unrighteous things, The Kings-  
and people suit them with willing Complyance, Murderer just-  
none doubts but the destruction of them both, is Just fy'd the day  
and Righteous ] *A Fast Sermon to the House of Commons.* after it was  
committed,  
*Jan. 31. 1648. Pa. 5.*

He that is Entrusted with the Sword, and dares not do Justice, on every one that dares do Injustice, is afraid of the Creature, but makes very bold with the Creator. *Pa. 15.*

[ The *Kings* of the Earth have given their Power All Christian  
to Anti Christ. How have they earn'd their *Titles*? Kings Anti-  
Christianiz'd,  
*Eldest Son of the Chuach*; *The Catholick*, and *most Chri-  
stian King*; *Defender of the Faith*; and the Like. Hath it not been by the Bloud of Saints? is there not in every corner of These Kingdomes, the Slain and the Banish'd ones of Christ to Answer for? *A Fast Sermon of Apr. 19. 1649. Pa. 22.* Do not the *Kings* of all these Nations stand up in the Room of their Progenitors; with the same *Implacable Enmity* to the Power of the Gospel? *Pa. 22.*

There are Great and Mighty Works in hand, in this Nation. Tyrants are punish'd; the Jaws of Oppressors are broken; bloody Revengesfull people in Wars, disappointed, *A Thanksgiving Sermon for the* A Reflection  
upon his Ma-  
jesty after his  
Defeat at  
Worcester.  
*Scots defeat at Worcester, Octo, 24. 1651. P. 2.*

[ What is This Prelacy? A meer Antichristian En- Prelacy Anti-  
Christian.  
croachment upon the Inheritance of Christ, *Pa. 5.*

[ A Monarchy of some hundred years continuance, always affecting, and at length wholly degenerated into Tyranny; destroy'd, pull'd down. Swallow'd up a great mighty Potentate that had caused terrour A Pedant tri-  
umphing over  
Charles the II.  
and Monarchy  
itself.  
in the Land of the Living, and laid his Sword under his head, brought to Punishment for Blood, *P. 6.*

[ If

And calling  
the King Ty-  
rant.

[ If any persons in the World had cause to sing the Song of *Moses*, and the *Lamb*, We have this day. The *Bondage* prepared for us was both in *Spirituals*, and *Temporalls*, about a *Tyrant* full of *Revenge*; and a *Discipline* full of *Persecution*, hath been our Contest: whether the Yoke of the One and the Other, should by the Sword and Violence, be put upon our Necks, and Consciences, is our Controversy, Pa. 7.

Are These Fit  
Agents for  
Unity and  
Peace?

Is it not a Prodigious boldness for such Spirits as These, to obtrude themselves, either upon the Government, or the People, as men of *Scruple*, and the most competent Agents for the Promoting of *Unity*, and *Peace*? And you your self Mr. *Baxter*, have not been out neither at this great work of Reforming Confusion, as your own Confessions in some measure, but your Conversation and Writings do Abundantly bear Witness.

Richard True  
to the King,  
but he mistook  
the King.

Mr. *Richard* here I must confess, furnishes you with a *Salvo* that *Ignatious Loyola* himself would have blush'd at. You were ever *True* to the *King*, you say, but you did not know *Who* was *King*. Some would have him to *be* where he was *NOT*, and Others would *not* allow him to be where he *WAS*. Sir, This doctrine might have done well enough in a Pulpit at *Coventry*, when you were helping the Lord against the *Mighty*; but from such a *Restoration Sermon*, the Lord deliver us! There is *first* not one word of *Restoring* the *King* in't, though it was a *Fast* that had a *Particular* *Regard* to *That* Debate. 2. It Asserts the *Loyalty* of the *Presbyterians*, and yet at the same time, supposes the *Supreme Power* in the *Two Houses*, which, in few words makes the *Late King* both a *Subject*, and ( with *Reverence* ) a *Rebell*. 3. The Settling of the *Presbytery*, for that's allways the English of their *SOUND DOCTRINE*

*Baxters* Re-  
stauracion  
Sermon.  
Asserts the  
Presbyterian  
Loyalty.  
Makes the  
King a Subject,  
and worse.  
Pleads for  
Presbytery,  
without a  
word of resto-  
ring the King.



**CTRINE, and CHURCH GOVERNMENT, Pa. 46.)**

is violently prest as the first thing to be done. Give **FIRST** to God; the Things that are Gods. 43. with a Pharisaical Ostentation of the *Conscionable, Prudent, Godly*, People of the Land, Pa. 46. in opposition to the *Prophane*. You could not do any thing in the world more to obstruct his Majestys Return, and yet you are pleased to make this Sermon an Instance of your Zeal to advance it.

Ri [The Parliament did not raise War against the Person or Authority of the King, nor did I ever serve them on any such Account: but to defend themselves against the Kings Mis-guided will. Holy Common-Wealth. Pa. 476. *Their Commissions, (all that ever I saw) were for King and Parliament. We had Two Protestations, and a Solemn League and Covenant Impos'd upon the Nation, to be for King and Parliament. And if Declarations, Professions, Commissions, and National Oaths and Covenants will not tell us, what the cause of the War was, then there is no Discovery.* Ibid. Pa. 477.

The War rais'd for King and Parliamen.  
Their Oaths  
& Covenants  
were fast and  
loose at pleasure.

Mo. These *Commissions, Oathes and Covenants* tell you the *Pretext* of the War, but you must go to their *Proceedings, and Practises* to find the *Cause* of it. The Two Houses Seize the Kings Towns, Magazines, Forts, and Shipping. They violently take the *Militia* into their own hands; Vote an Ordinance of Both Houses as binding as an Act of Parliament. Declare his Majestys Commissions Voyd, Issue out Orders for Securing the Kingdome: Vote the Maintaining of a War, and the Seizing of his Majestys Magazines; Sequester the Church and Crown Revenues: and justify all these Injuries, as done in pursuance of their *Protestations, and Covenants*, and This is your way now of being **FOR** the King. Suppose that any man had beaten you, and Plundered ye, and Imprison'd ye, and abus'd your Friends for your sake, and a body should tell

The pretext of the War, Religion; the Cause, Ambition.  
The Loyal Presbyterians usurp Sovereign Power.

The Two  
Houses were  
the King in  
the Covenant.

No Reconciling of the  
Covenant King  
& the Legal.

tell you all this while that this man was *FOR* Mr. *Baxter*. If you were really for the *King*: why would not *For the King* according to the *Oath of Allegiance* do the business as well as *For the King* according to the *Covenant*? Or how came you to *Alienate* your self from his *Majesties Jurisdiction*, and to turn *Subject*, to the *Two Houses*? Who *Absolv'd* you from the *One Oath*, or who *Authoris'd* you in the *Other*? or when you found that the *King* in the *Covenant* clash'd with the *King* in the *Oath of Allegiance*, why did you not rather comply with the *Law*, then with the *Usurpation*? For it is *Impossible* to be *True* to both *Interests*, under so manifest an *Opposition*. You see the *Colour* of the *War*, and I shall not need to tell you that the *Cause* of it was *Ambition*, of *Dominion*, which was exercised to the highest degree of *Tyranny*.

Richard holds  
Oaths to  
Princes to be  
Dispensable

Ri. If a People that by *Oath and Duty* are obliged to a *Sovereign*, shall sinfully dispossess him, and contrary to their *Covenants, Oath and Covenant* with *Another*; they may be obliged by their *Latter Covenants*, notwithstanding the *Former*. *Holy-Common-Wealth*. Pag. 188.

Baxter holds  
Oaths of  
Allegiance to be  
Indispensable.

Ba. That cannot be, my Friend; for we hold it [Impious and Papal to pretend to absolve Subjects from their Oaths to their Sovereign. *Holy Com. Pa.* 359. [It is not in Subjects Power, by Vows to withdraw themselves from Obedience to Authority. *Non-Confor. Plea.* P. 213.

Mo. But why can ye not now dispense with your Covenants, as well as you did formerly with the Oath of Allegiance?

Richard will  
hate the  
Covenant binding as it is a  
Vow.

Ri. Part of This Covenant is [against Popery, Superstition, and Profaneness; and all that is against Sound Doctrine and Godliness, &c. which the Non-Conformists take to be Lawful and Necessary things. *Non-Conf. Plea.* 1st. Part. P. 142. But the Con-  
trovery

truerly is not This, and That, but whether as a Vow made to God, it binde to things Necessary. P. 143.

Ba. Soft a little. This that you speak of is the *League* The *League* and *Covenant*, not the *Vow*, and *Covenant*. The *Latter* was on- and *Covenant* ly a *Bond of Confederacy* to assist the *Parliaments Forces* against and *Vow* and *Covenant*, the *King*; and taken by the *Lords and Commons* Jun. 6. 1673. and then *Ordred* Jun. 27. to be taken all over the *Kingdome*. But the *Other* was *Composed* afterwards and upon closing with the *Scots* accomodated to the *Scottish Model*, and *Order'd*, Feb. 2. 1643. to be taken throughout *England and Wales*, and Entitled, For *Reformation, and Defence of Religion; the Honour and Happiness of the KING, &c.* [ By this *Covenant*, you are bound, not only to an *Extirpation of Bishops*, but to endeavour the *Introducing of a Scottish Presbytery*: How can you then dispence with an *Admittance of the Primates Episcopacy*, as you propounded, in *Contradiction to the Terms* of that *Engagement*?

The *League* and *Covenant* Impos d.

*Baxter* is his own *Confessor* and solves himself.

Mo. Favour me with a word I pray'e. Did ye not *Covenant* [ to preserve and defend the *Kings Majestys Person, and Authority* ? ]

Ri. Yes, [ in the *Preservation and Defence of the True Religion*.

The *Covenant* for the *King*, qualify'd for *Religion*.

Ba. But in case of the *Kings Opposing it*, we are still *Obliged* [ to continue therein, against all *Opposition*, and to promote the same, according to our *Power*, against all *Lets, and Impediments* whatsoever. See the *Covenant*.

If the *King* be against *Religion* the *Covenant* is against him.

Mo. Let it suffice *Gentlemen* that your *Party* destroy'd the *King*; it is no great matter *How*.

Ri. [ As to the *Death of the King*, I have in the times of *Usurpation*, proved that the *Presbyterians* detested it. That it was a *Proud Conquering Army*, by the *Contrivance of Ol. Cromwell*, and the *applause of a Few Phanatiques* that did it by the *consent of a Oliver*. small care of the *Old Parliament*, called the *Rump*, that durst not trust the *King in Power*. Non-Conf. Plea. part. 2. Preface.

*Richard* lays the *Death of the King* to

The *Baxterians* attack'd the King.

And they fought to kill.

*Baxters* Unfeigned Repen-  
ance.

Mr. *Baxter* consulted the Word of God about Opposing the King.

Mr *Baxter* would be the same man if another King were to be Depos'd and Murdered.

Mr. *Baxter* very cautious of Treason against the two Houses.

*Baxter* falls foul upon Richard.

The Moderator interposes

*Baxter* vindicates Oliver.

*Ba.* Prethee Dick Speak truth and shame the Devil. What did we raise Armyes for? And Attaque the King himself in the Head of his Troops? Wee'l maintain That, by our *Principles*, and *Aphorisms*. [ War is not an Act of Government, but *Hostility*. Men are not in Reason to be supposed to Intend their Enemies Good, if they fight we are to believe, they would Kill: and Nature believeth not Killing to be an Act of Friendship. *Holy Common-Wealth. Pa. 422.*

I do Unfeignedly Repent that I did no more for Peace in my Place then I did; and that I did not pray more heartily against Contention. and War, before it came: and spake no more against it then I did; and that I spake so much to blow the Coals. For This I dayly beg forgiveness of the Lord, through the Pretious blood of the Great Reconciler. The hatred of strife, and War, and Love of Peace, and Observation of the Lamentable Miscariages since, have call'd me often to search my heart, and try my ways by the word of God; whether I did Lawfully engage in That War, or not: ( which I was confident then, was the Greatest outward service that ever I performed to God. And whether I Lawfully encouraged so many Thousands to it. *Holy Common-Wealth. Pa. 485, 486.*

[ But yet I cannot see that I was mistaken in the main Cause, nor dare I repent of it, nor forbear the same, if it were to do again, in the same State of Things. I should do all I could to prevent such a War, but if it could not be prevented, I must take the same side as then I did. And my Judgment tells me, that if I should do otherwise, I should be Guilty of Treason or disloyalty against the SOVEREIGN POWER of the Land, and of Perfidiousness to the Common-Wealth, and of preferring Offending Subjects, before the Laws, and Justice; and the Will of the King above the safety of the Common-wealth, and consequently above his own Wellfare. *Ibid,* And then for you so *Impudently* and *Impertinently*—

*Mo.* Nay, let's have none of this, Gentlemen I beseech ye, why You Two are Old Acquaintances; Fellow-Labourers, Fellow-Sufferers, and One Womans Children as we say.—

*Ba.* I shall not eat my words I assure ye; I may forget my self perhaps, but I am not a man for Recantations. I say again, that it was *Impudently* and *Impertinently* done to reflect upon Oliver

*Oliver Cromwell*, as if he had done an Ill thing. My *Holy Commonwealth* [ was written while the *Lord Protector* ( Prudently, Piously, Faithfully, to his Immortal Horror, how ill soever you have used him ) did Exercise the Government. *Holy Commonwealth, Preface to the Army.* [ And I have forbore to change any One Word of it all, that you may see the worst of my Intendments. And that *True Principles will stand in all Times, and Changes*, though to the shame of those Changes that make bad Times. *Ibid.* These are my own words, and do you think that I would ever have bestowed upon a detestable wretch, the Epithetes of PRUDENT, PIOUS and FAITHFUL? And again; If *Oliver* had not been a Religious, and Gracious Prince, can you Imagine that I should ever have treated his Son *Richard* with this Complement? [ We pray that you may INHERIT a Tender care of the Cause of Christ. *Key for Catholiques, Ep. Ded.* which shews both that *Oliver* had a *Tenderness for Christs Cause*; and necessarily Implies that the *Cause* he *Managed* was the *Cause of Christ*.

A prudent,  
pious, Faith-  
ful Prince.

*Baxter* prays  
that *Richard*  
*Cromwell* may  
Inherit the  
Piety of his  
Father.

And then you shuffle it again upon the *Phanatiques*, and the *Rump*, that durst not trust the King with Power. Why prethee what Power did we allow him? We took away his Arms and his Men, and his Money, and his Credit, and his Towns, and his Ships, and his Laws, and his Liberty, and all the Ensignes of Royalty: and the Maxims whereupon we supported our Proceedings, did his befiness. The Two Houses and the Army were no more then the Gun and the Ball; The one gave fire and the other kill'd him.

The Presbyte-  
rians Dis-  
arm'd the  
King, and the  
Independents  
Kill'd him.

*Mo. Mr. Baxter*; I ( as you say ) you do *Unfeignedly Repent*, that you *spake so much* Formerly to *blow the Coals*. Why are ye blowing of them again? You carry'd Thousands you say, into the War, and Engaged in it your self, and would do the same thing over again upon the like Occasion: And your Judgment tells you that it were *Treason against the Sovereign Power of the Land* to do otherwise. According to This Doctrine, a Remnant of the Lords and Commons may do as much to This King as they did to his Father, and the Presbyterians Pulpits shall justify the Proceeding. You do Generously however to own your Positions. But yet methinks you should have some regard to the dismal Consequences that have ensu'd upon this Controversy.

*Baxter* re-  
pents, and  
then repents  
of his Repen-  
tance.

Baxter thanks  
God for his  
Blessings upon  
this Nation in  
consequence  
of the Rebel-  
lion.

Ba. [ It were too great Folly, by *Following Accidents*, that were then unknown, for me to Judge of the *Former Cause*. That which Is Calamitous in the Event, is not allways sinfull in the Enterprize. Should the Change of Times make me forget the State that we were formerly in, and Change my Judgment, by losing the sense of what then conduced to it's Enformation, This *Folly* and *forgetfullnesse* would be the way to a *sinfull*, and not an *Obedient Repentance*. Nor can I be so Unthankful as to say, for all the sins and Miscarriages of Men since, that we have not received much mercy from the Lord : *Holy Communion*. *wealth. Pa.* 487.

The Blessed  
Difference be-  
twixt the Go-  
vernment of  
the Late King,  
& of Cromwell

When Godlynesse was the Common Scorn, the Prejudice, and shame most lamentably prevail'd to keep men from it, and so encouraged them in Wickednesse : But through the great mercy of God, many Thousands have been converted to a Holy, upright Life, proportionably more then were before, since the Reproach did cease, and the Prejudice was removed, and Faithfull Preachers took the Place of Scandalous ones, or Ignorant Readers. When I look upon the Place where I live, and see that the Families of the Ungodly are here one, and there one in a street, as the Families of the Godly were heretofore ( though my own Endeavours have been too weak and cold ) it forceth me to set up the stone of Remembrance, and to say [ HITHERTO HATH THE LORD HELPED US, *Ibid.* [ Oh the sad, and Heart-piercing Spectacles that mine Eyes have seen in four years space. [ *This was Jan. 15. 1649.* ] [ In this Fight, a dear Friend falls down by me : From another, a Pretious Christian brought home wounded, or dead : Scarce a month, scarce a week, without the sight or Noise of Blood. *Saints Rest, P.* 139.

Baxters Com-  
fortable Effects  
of a Civill  
War.  
The Blessed  
Times we had  
till the Army  
got the better  
of the Two  
Houses

Mo. Here's first a most Evangelicall accompt of the blessed Effects of a Civill War : [ *The Propagation of Holynesse*. And Then, a most Remarkable Calculation of the date of your Calamities, which commences precisely from the Armies getting the Ascendent of the Two Houses, without any respect to the Outrages both upon the Church and State, while the Presbyterians Govern'd.

Ri. Pray'e will ye [ *patiently read over the Representation, or Letter of the London Ministers to the Lord Generall, Jan. 18. 1648.* ]  
Mo. Very



*Mr.* Very well, and since you are pleas'd to cast the Cause, and the Integrity of your Party upon That Issue, wee'l see what they say.

[ ' It is already sufficiently known (besides all former Miscarriages) what Attempts of late have been put in Practice against Lawfull Authority: Letter P. 3. [ ' This Lawfull Authority was a Faction of the Two Houses ] Especially by the Late Remonstrance, and Declaration, published in Opposition to the Proceedings in Parliament. [ *Here's the Crimen lese Majestatis.* ] [ ' As also by seizing, and Imprisoning the Kings Person without the Knowledge, and Consent of Parliament. *Ibid.*

[ *Here's only a plain Seizure of the Kings Person, without the Parliaments Privy or Leave ; No Condemnation of the Thing it self, further then as it was done without his Masters Consent. Nor was the King more a Prisoner in the hands of the Army, then he had been at Newcastle, in the hands of the Presbyterians.* ]

[ ' But now they come to [ That late Unparall'd violence offer'd to the Members of it ; forcibly hindring above one hundred of them ( if we mistake not the Number ) from sitting in Parliament: Imprisoning many of their Persons ; though many of them are known to us to be men of Eminent worth, and Integrity ; and who have given most Ample Testimony of their Real Affection to the good of the Kingdome. *Ibid.*

*London-Ministers Letter to the Lord-General. Jan 18. 1648.*

The Armies Crime was the opposing of the Parliament, and Imprisoning the King without Leave.

Only a Seizure of the Kings Person.

But an Unparall'd Violence upon the

Members of the House.

Being men of Eminent

Worth and Integrity.

Pray take notice, that it was upon the *Members*, an Unparall'd violence ; upon the *King*, no more then a *Simple Seizure* ; and methinks they might have bestowed some kind Epithete upon his *Majesty*, as well as upon the *Eminent* and *Worthy* Members. But 'tis only the bare *King* ; and That's All.

[ ' And besides All This, [ There is an Intent of Framing and contriving a New Model, as well of the Laws, and Government of the Kingdom, as of the Constitution of a new kind of Representative. All which Practices we cannot but Judge, to be manifestly opposite to the Lawfull Authority of those Magistrates which God hath set over us ; and to the Duty and Obedience, which by the Laws of God and man, and by our manifold Oaths, and Covenants, we stand obliged to render to them. *Ibid.*

A Factions Remnant, the Magistrates which God hath set over us.

You

The London-  
Ministers Me-  
diation little  
lesse then  
Treason.

You are not aware, Mr. *Richard*, that to Justify the Do-  
ctrine of these Letters falls very little short of Justifying down-  
right Treason; unless you can shew a Law that places the Su-  
preme Power in the Two Houses.

Gods Ordinance violated  
when Magi-  
stracy is op-  
pos'd.

The Divines  
fear ull of op-  
posing God, in  
an Ordinance  
of the Two  
Houses,

[ 'The Fear of God therefore, ( whose Ordinance is violated,  
' when Magistracy is opposed ) makes us affraid of meddling with  
' Those who without any Colour of Legal Authority, meerly  
' upon the Presumption of strength, shall attempt such Changes  
' as these are. And we cannot but be deeply Affected with  
' Grief and Astonishment, to see that an Army raised by Autho-  
' rity of Parliament, for the Preservation of the Priviledges  
' thereof, and of our Religion, Laws, and Liberties, should con-  
' trary to their Trust, and many engagements, do That which  
' tends to the Manifest subversion of them All. P. 4.

None of  
these scruples  
in the case of  
the King.

Pray'e where was the Fear of Cod, when the King was op-  
posed? what Legal Authority had the Two Houses over his  
Majesty, more then the Army had over the Two Houses! Or  
by what Law did That Parliament raise That Army?

The Presbyte-  
rians True to  
the Faction  
from the be-  
ginning.

[ We have not forgotten those Declared Grounds and Prin-  
ciples, upon which the Parliament first took up Arms: and up-  
on which we were induced to joyn with them: ( from which we  
have not *hitherto* declared, and we trust through Gods Grace,  
we NEVER SHALL. ) Pa. 5.

The Standard  
of the Presby-  
terian Loyalty  
why not as  
tender of a  
breach of  
Trust, accord-  
ing to Law,  
as against it?

We have here in few words, the Judgment, and the Resolu-  
tion of the Presbyterian Divines, and the standard of their  
Loyalty, from the Lips of the very Oracle of the Party. I  
would fain know now which was the fouler breach of Trust,  
That of the Two Houses toward his Majesty, to whom both by  
Law and Conscience they were obliged, ( besides so many Gra-  
tious Concessions ) or that of the Army, to the Two Houses!  
The one being like the Robbing of an Honest man, and the o-  
ther, the Pillaging of That Thief: Over and above that the  
Army was Trayn'd up in the Trade of turning out their  
Masters.

There was no  
Intent to di-  
vest the King  
of his Legal  
Right,

[ ' And moreover; although the PARLIAMENT thus took  
' up Arms for the defence of their Persons & Priviledges, and the  
Preservation

Preservation of Religion, Laws, and Liberties ; yet was it not  
 their Intention, thereby to do violence to the Person of the  
 King, or divest him of his Regal Authority, and what of Right  
 belongeth to him. Pa. 7.

Do but shew me now any one Essential of Sovereignty which  
 those people left him, if they could take it away, and I will be  
 answerable to forfeit my head for't. But still it is but what  
 [of Right] belongeth to him ; and That's a *Salvo* for all the  
 Violences Imaginable.

But he had  
 a Right to  
 nothing then,  
 for they took  
 all away.

[ We disclam, detest, and abhor the Wicked, and bloody  
 Treunts, and Practices of *Jesuits* ( the whist of Papists ) Con-  
 cerning the opposing of Magistrates, by Private persons, and  
 the Murthering of Kings by any, though under the most speci-  
 ous, and Colourable Prétenfes. Pa. 11.

The Presby-  
 terians tell us  
 they are no  
*Jesuits*.

This is All, which upon that desperate *Crisis* of State was  
 said for that Pious and unfortunate Prince: the saving of the  
 King, being ( if any ) Incomparably the least part of the Mi-  
 nisters business. Beside that the dethroning of him was more  
 Criminal then the beheading of him. And in such a case, it  
 would have been no longer a Murther, when they should once  
 have voted the Fact to be an Execution of Justice.

Not one word  
 for the King in  
 the whole  
 Letter.

[ We desire ( *Say they* ) that you would not be too Confident  
 on former successës. If God have made you prosper while  
 you were in his way, this can be no Warrant for you to walk  
 in ways of your Own. P. 12. [ *So that the Old Cause is Gods still,*  
*to this very day.* ]

The Army  
 in Gods way  
 while they  
 joyn'd with  
 the Presby-  
 terians.

And besides ; [ you have engaged your selves by an Oath to  
 preserve his Majestys Person, and the Priviledges of Parlia-  
 ment ; and This is most clear, that no Necessity can justify  
 Perjury, or dispense with Lawfull Oaths. Pa. 15.

Sworn to pre-  
 serve his Ma-  
 jesties Person  
 and Priviled-  
 ges of Parli-  
 ament.

I should be glad to know now, how you came to be absolv'd  
 of the Oath of Allegiance, or how you can honestly pretend  
 to Stand up for any Interest, that renders the King Accounta-  
 ble to his Subjects.

Who absolv'd  
 the Presbyte-  
 rians of their  
 former Oaths.

24. [ Yet if I had taken up Arms against the Parliament  
 in

If *Exeter* had  
 serv'd the King

he had been a  
Traytor.

in That War, my Conscience tells me I had been a Traytor,  
and Guilty of Resisting the *Highest Powers*. *Holy Com. Pa. 433.*

*Mo.* At This Rate, the King was a Traytor on the other  
side.

*Baxters* Holy  
Com. wealth,  
to be taken as  
*Non-Scriptus*.

*Ba.* Why do you cite the *Holy Common Wealth*, so often? for  
I have desired that the Book be taken as *non Scriptus*. *Non-Can.*  
*Plea 2d part. Pref.*

A Shift, not a  
Recantation.

*Mo.* And would not any Malefactor that were deprehend-  
ed in the manner, say as much as this amounts to; and wish that  
the thing might be taken as *Non Factum*? This is rather a *Shift*,  
then a *Retraction*.

For the Apho-  
risms were  
level'd direct-  
ly against  
the King.

And then again; it is a wonderfull thing that you should  
overshoot your self so much upon a Subject that was exprelly  
[ *Suited to the demands, and doubts of These Times,* ] *Holy Com. Pa.*  
102. That is to say; The Restoring of the King was the  
point then in Agitation, and out comes your Book of *Aphorisms*  
expresly to possesse the People against it.

*Baxters* Re-  
cantation.

*Ba.* If you would have a Recantation more in Form, [ I do  
here freely Profess that I repent of all that ever I thought, Sayd,  
Wrote, or did, since I was Born, against the Peace of Church  
or State, Against the King, his Person, or Authority, as Su-  
preme in himself; or as Derivative in any of his Officers, Ma-  
gistrats, or any Commissioned by him. *2d Admonition to Bag-*  
*shaw. Pa. 52.*

A Repentance  
that will passe  
neither upon  
God, nor Man

*Mo.* This *Mock Repentance* is a Trick that will not pass ei-  
ther upon God or Man. The Kings Headfman might have  
Sayd as much, and yet account that execrable Office a meri-  
torious work. You are at your *Fast Sermon* again; Always *Obe-*  
*dient to the Highest Powers*, but divided somewhere about the  
*Receptacle of the Sovereignty*. You ask God forgiveness for all  
that ever you *Thought, Sayd, Wrote, or Did*, against the King,  
and the *Publick-Peace*. And what signifies This Repentance,  
so long as you persist in maintaining, that all the violences ac-  
ted upon the Person, Crown and Dignity of his Sacred Majesty,  
in the Name of the King and Parliament, were not AGAINST  
the King, but FOR him, This is All, but the *Hypothesis* of a  
*Transgression*.

**Transgression.** *Lord forgive me all that ever I did amiss.* That is to say, if ever I did any thing amiss. But I charge my self with no Particulars. Why do ye not Touch the *Thesis* that you condemn; and say *This, That, and tother Aphorisme* I Renounce? Nay, why do ye not Reform and Correct your mistakes, and state the matter aright, toward the bringing of These people into their Wits again, that have been Intoxicated by your false Doctrine, and Poyson'd from your very Pulpit?

**Ba.** [ If you Quarrell with my Repentance as not In *Particulars* enow; I answer you, that as in the Revocation of the Book, I thought it best to *Revoke the whole*, ( though not as *Retracting* all the Doctrine of it ) because if I had named the Particular Passages, some would have said I had mentioned too Few, and some too many, and few would have been satisfi'd. *Admon. to Bagshaw. Pag. 53.*

**Mo.** You have Mark'd [ *Revoke*, ] and [ *Retract* ] with an Emphatical Character, to give to Understand, that you do not *Retract*, though you do *Revoke*, and you have put them in *Italique*, to shew that there lies a stresse upon Those two Words. You *Revoke the whole* [ Book ] you say, *not as Retracting all the Doctrine of it*: If by *Revoke* you mean *Call in*, or *Suppress*; you might as well call back your Breath again, as the venom that was diffused by those Aphorisms. And then to say that you do not [ *Retract* All the Doctrine of it ] does not necessarily Imply, that you *Retract* any part of it. Or if you do, your Repentance is yet Frivolous, for want of distinguishing the Right from the Wrong; that your Disciples may not take the One from the Other.

*Mr. Baxters  
Pia.Fraus.*

*A Jesuitism.*

Your Apprehension indeed of saying *too much*, or *too little* if you should come to *Particulars*, is very Reasonable: For to please the Lovers to their *Prince, Church, and Countrey*, you must not leave one Seditious, or Schismatical Principle behind ye. But then on the other side, if you come to pronounce the Levying of Arms, the making of a Great Seal, and Exercising other Acts of Sovereignty, without, and against the Kings Commission, to be High Treason by the Established Law, you are lost to all Intents and Purposes, with your own Party. So that for fear of disoblising the One side or the Other, by Con-

*For fear of too  
Much or too  
Little, Mr.  
Baxter con-  
fesses just no-  
thing at all:*

feeling too much, or too little, you have resolved upon the middle way of confessing just nothing at all.

Mr. Baxter proceeds in his repentance

He ever opposes what he sometimes encouraged. A Baxterism.

Ba. [ I do Repent ( again ) that I no more discouraged the spirit of peevish Quarrelling with Superiours, and Church-Orders ; and ( though I ever disliked and opposed it, yet ) that I sometimes did too much Encourage such, as were of this Temper, by speaking too sharply against Those things which I thought to be Church-Corruptions : and was too loth to displease the Contentious, for fear of being Uncapable of doing them good, ( knowing the Prophane to be much worse then They ) and meeting with too few Religious persons, that were not too much pleased with such Invectives. Ibid.

His very Repentances are Calumnies.

Mo. This Clause of Repentance, is every jot as much a Riddle to me as the former. You did not sufficiently discourage the spirit of Quarrelling with Superiours. [ Which spirit you your self Raised. ] You were a little too sharp upon what you thought to be Church-Corruptions, [ So that here's a Bit, and a Knock, You were a little too sharp ; but it was against Corruptions in the Church ; Your very Repentances are Calumnies. But you were willing to oblige a Contentious Religious Party that was pleased with Invectives, you could have done them no good else. And what good I beseech ye did you do them by it, but mislead, and confirm them in Principles of Disobedience ? only you consider'd you say, that the Prophane were much worse then the Other.

He Repents and Relapses in the same breath.

What is the reason that Mr. Baxter will be perpetually thus Inconsistent with himself ; First you Repent for no more Discouraging, and then ( by a side wind ) for Encouraging ; and before the Repentance is out of your Mouth, you are at it again, with your CHURCH-CORRUPTIONS, and your opposition of the PROPHANE forsooth to the Godly, to Enflame the Division, and to Harden the Non-Conformists in their Dissent.

Prophanes in Habit, and in Conspiracy

Now as to your Stigmatizing Character of Prophane, There is a Personal Prophaneness, and there is a Prophaneness of Association, and Confederacy. There are many men I know, that have gotten so diabolical a Habit of Swearing, Cursing and Blaspheming the holy name of God, that they can hardly speak Ten words without an Oath, or a Curse : This is without dispute a most abominable Sin ; But it is withall so disagreeable,



able, and so offensive, that it gives a man a Horrour for the Imitation, and Practice, of so Unprofitable, and so Monstrous a Crime; and though it be a grievous *Wickedness*, it is not of so dangerous an Example. But what say you to Sacramental Leagues against Order, and Law? To the forcing of a whole Nation either to Swear or starve? to the calling God into a Conspiracy against Government and Religion? To the Robbing of Altars; demolishing of Temples; dethroning of Kings; degrading of Bishops? &c. And all This, *in the Name of the most High God*, and with *hands held up unto the Lord*. But go on with your Repentance.

Ba. [I do Repent (also) that I had not more Impartially and dilligently Consulted with the best Lawyers that were against the Parliaments Cause, (for I know of no Controversy in Divinity about it, but in Politiques and Law;) and that I did not use all possible means of full Acquaintance with the Case. *Ibid.*

[And that for a little while the Authority of such Writers as Mr. Richard Hooker, *Lib. 1. Eccles. Polit.* and Bishop Bilson, and other *Episcopal Divines* did too much sway my Judgment toward the Principles of *Popular Power*.

[And seeing the Parliameht *Episcopal*, and *Erastian*; and not hearing when the War began, of Two Presbyterians amongst them all, nor among all their Lord Lieutenants, Generalls, Major Generalls, or Colonells, till long after; I was the Easilyer drawn to think, that *Hookers Political Principles* had been commonly Received by all; which I discerned soon after upon stricter Enquiry, to be Unsound, and have my self written a Confutation of them. *Pa. 53.*

Mo. This way of Dodging, in one of the Prophane (as you stile us) would have been *Jesuitical*. Here's only a bare wish that you had made a stricter Enquiry into the Cause, but no Acknowledgment that you were in the Wrong. And again, If you knew of no Controversy in Divinity about it; why are all your Writings stuffed with such a Huddle of Texts for Obedience to the Two Houses? What did you search the Word of God for, in the Case? *Holy Com. Pa. 486.*

If you were misled by Mr. Hookers *First Book of Ecclesiastical Policy* in Favour of *Popular Power*; why would ye not let him set

him Right to  
the Church, as  
well as wrong  
to the State.  
*Hookers* popu-  
lar power no-  
thing to Co-  
ordination.

*Baxters* Wri-  
tings are a di-  
rect Saryr-  
on Govern-  
ment.

*B's* quarrel to  
the Visible  
Church.

the Right in your *Ecclesiastical Politiques*, and in your Duty to the Authority, and Discipline of the Church, to make y<sup>e</sup> some amends? the Biasse which you will have him to take, in favour of Popular Power, being not one jot to your purpose, but regarding only the Specification of Government, and not the Fountain; and who ly Forrein to your Phanfy of a Co-ordination: Whereas That Great mans discourse in vindication of the Rites and Injunctions of the Church comes directly to your Point: and stands as firm as a Rock against all the Insults of Calumny, and Opposition; without any pretense to a Reply. But you serve Mr. *Hooker* in *This*, and the *King* himself, and the *English Clergy* in *Other* Cases, as you do the Bishops in your *Church-History*: you turn over *Indexes* and *Common-Places* for matter of Reproach against them, and then obtrude upon the World, the Frailties of some, and your own most Uncharitable mistakes of Others, for the History of the Order; but not one word of Their Virtues. (It would make a black book, the Story of the *Presbytery* drawn up at the same Rate.) It is your way still, under a Pretext of advancing the *Mistical* Church, to depress the *Visible*, and to put the people out of Love with both *Civill* and *Ecclesiastical Constitutions*.

*Ba.* [Pray'e do but observe and see of what manner of persons the Visible Church hath been Constituted, in all Ages of the World, till now. In the first Church, in *Adams* Family, a *Cain*, In a Church of Eight persons, the Father and Pastor overtaken with Grosse Drunkenness, and one of his Sons was a Cursed *Cham*. In a Church of six persons, Two of them perill'd (in the flames among the Unbelievers, and a Third turn'd into a Pillar of Salt: The Two remaining Daughters, committed Incest. In *Abrabams* Family, an *Ishmael*; in *Isaacs*, an *Esau*: even *Rebecca*, and *Jacob* gnilty of deceitfull Equivocation; an *Abraham* and *Isaac* deny'd their Wives to save themselves in their Unbelief. In *Jacobs* Family a *Simeon* and *Levi*, that sold their brother *Joseph*. Of the Church of the *Israelites* in the Wilderness but Two permitted to enter into the Land of Promise, &c. [The Ten Tribes were drawn by *Jeroboam* to Sin, by setting up Calves at *Dan* in *Bethel*, and making *Priests* of the Vilest of the People; and forsaking the Temple, and the True Worship of God and the Lawfull *Priests*. And these Lawfull *Priests* at *Jerusalem* were Ravening Wolves and Greedy Dogs,

Dogs, and careless, and cruell Shepherds. The false Prophets who deceived the People were most Accepted.] *Ch Div. Pa. 35. 56. 37.* And if you run through the Churches of *Rome, Corinth, Galatia, Colosse, Ephesus, Pergamus, Thyatira, Sardis, Laodicea.* *Pa. 39. 40. 41.* you'll finde it to be the same case.

*Mo.* But what's your end in all This?

*Ba.* [Not to make Sin less Odious, nor the Church or God less Esteemed: but to shew you the Frame of the *Visible Church*, in all Generations, and how it differeth from the *Jewish*; lest you should take on you to be wiser then God, and to build his house after a better Rule then his Gospel and the Primitive Pattern. *Ibid. Pa. 36.*]

The Reasons of B's Unkindness to the Visible Church

*Mo.* This is by Interpretation, The *Non-Conformists* are the *Invisible Church*; and the *Episcopall Clergy* are the *Ravening Wolves*, and the *Greedy Dogs*, and all the Sons of the Church of *England*, are the *Church Visible*. According to your most obliging way of Allusion. But there's one thing I forgot.

He makes Dis-senters the Invisible Church and Con-forms the Visible.

You say, the *Presbyterians* did not begin the War; which with your Favour is a great mistake, and yet not a pin matter to the case in Question; whether they did or not. Did not the *Kirk* lead the Dance, and the *Republican Faction* in *England* pay them their wages, and call them their *Dear Brethren* for their pains? And then the *Presbyterian* war was denounc'd in the *Pulpit*, and in the *Parliament-house* too, long before the *Republican* broke out openly in the *Field*. What if the first Publick Sticklers, were not at that time *Declar'd Presbyterians*? They were yet in the *Conspiracy* against *Bishops*, though under another Notion; and quickly after they Lifted themselves under That very Profession, as the best cover in nature for their purpose; for That Schisme was never without a State-faction in the Belly on't. But nothing is more Notorious, then the Intelligence that was held, from the Beginning, betwixt the *Republican Cabal*, and the *Presbyterian Divines*! The one drew the Bellows, and the Other Play'd the Tune. And take notice likewise, That *Presbyterian* was a mark of the *Faction* rather then a note on as well as a of the *Religion*, and used in *Contradistinction* to *Royalist*. But Pray'e finish your Repentance.

Presbyterians began the War

A State Faction as well as a Schisme.

B's Implicit  
Repentance.

*Ba.* For [ All the rest of my Sins in this business, which I know not of Particularly, I do Implicitly and generally Repent of, and ask of God to give me a particular Conversion, &c. ]  
*Ibid* 53.

B's account  
soon cast up.

*Mo.* If you have told all the Particulars you know of, your Account, Mr. *Baxter*, is soon cast up.

You begin with a *Generall Supposition*. *All that ever I Thought, Said, &c.* without any One *Instance*; or *Acknowledgement*. If you had sayd, *I have committed many Sins of This kind, and of That*, it had been something.

A General  
Particular  
Repentance.

Your Second Branch of Repentance, is for *no more discouraging Peevishnesse* toward *Superiours*; and Then sometimes too much *Encouraging* it by being too *Sharp* your self against what you took to be *Church Corruptions*. Why Sorry for no MORE discouraging, when you were so far from discouraging at all, then on the Contrary, you Repent in the same Period, for too much *Encouraging*? This is, at the best; but a *Lame* and a *General Particular Repentance*. That which you make no more of than the Spirit of *Peevish Quarrelling* ( as if the people had only put upon a Nettle ) you should have spoken out, and call'd it the Spirit of *Contumacy*, and *Rebellion*. And what is it that you charge upon your self here, more then that you were a little too *Mealy-mouth'd*? But wher's your *Vindication* of the *Church-Orders* you mention? wher's your *Determination* which are the *Right Superiours*. Why do ye not tell the People that you were mistaken in the Opinion of our *Church-Corruptions*; and Instruct them in their Duties of *Obedience* to *God*, and the *King*? Without so doing, That which you call Repentance, is only a *Snare* to the Multitude, and a *Scandal* to the Government.

B. Repents of  
being too mealy-mouth'd.

Your next Pang of Repentance, is for not Consulting the best Lawyers that were against the Parliament, more Impartially and dilligently then you did.

A Repentance  
without a  
Confession.

Is This the Repentance, Mr. *Baxter*, of a *Confessor*? A *Repentance*, without a *Confession*: an arrant peice of *Artifice*, and *Design*, to put on the Disguise of a Recantation, and without any charge or discharge of Conscience, to keep in with both Parties. The Sin does not Ly in your not *Advising* with Lawyers concerning the State of the Controversy, but in Plunging your self and Others into Bloud, hand over head, contrary to the Laws of God and man, without so much as consulting the grounds

grounds of the Quarrell. To the *Royallists* it looks like an excuse of your Disloyalty to the King; as who should say; *'Tis true, I was to blame: It was a Poynt of Law, and I should have taken better Advice upon't.* And if the Other Side accuse you as a desertor of the Cause, you can acquit your self There too, that you have not Repented of any one Poynt to their Prejudice. If it be not as I say, and that you mean Good Faith, do but publish your Loyalty to the World, in the manner, or to the effect Following, and I'll ask your Pardon.

And an abuse upon Both Parties.

**I Do Declare, that the Lords and Commons Assembled in Parliament, are still the Kings Subjects, and that it is not Lawfull for them to exercise any Act of Sovereign Power, Without or Against the Kings Command, or Consent. I do likewise declare that the War, Raised by the pretended Authority of the Lords and Commons in 1642. With all their Orders, Ordinances, and Impositions in pursuance thereof, Were also unlawfull: And that All Acts of Hostility done by Them or their Order, against the King, or the Party Commissioned by him, during the Command of the Earl of Essex, Were Acts of disloyalty, and Rebellion.**

Mr. Baxter's Test.

If you be really the man that you would be thought to be, you'll never Boggle at This Test: But if This will not down with ye, (let me tell you Sir, that to my knowledge worse then this, has) you will make me think of the Lady in the Proverbs, that *Eateth, and wipeth her Mouth, and saith I have done no Wickednesse.*

BA. YOUNG.

Mr *Baxter's*  
Challenge.

*Ba.* You Reflect in These Reproaches either upon my Particular Principles, or upon the Principles of the Party, or upon Both. As to my self; [ If any man can prove, that I was Guilty of, hurt to the Person, or destruction of the Power of the King, or of Changing the Fundamental Constitution of the Commonwealth ] &c. *Holy Com. Pa.* 489. 490. [ I will never gain-say him if he call me a most perfidious Rebell; and tell me that I am Guilty of far greater Sin, then Murther, Whoredome, Drunkenesse, or such like. *Ibid.*

Or if they can solidly Confute my Grounds, I will thank them, and Confesse my Sin to all the World. *Ibid.*

*Richard* takes  
him up and  
proves him  
guilty as to  
the Kings  
Person.

*Ri.* Nay Brother Baxter, you must give Me leave to put in a Word now; and first to your Practice, then to your Grounds. Did not you animate the Party that was in Arms against the King; as much as any man, and was That no hurt to his Person? [ Remember ( say you to the Army ) how far I have gone with you in the War — And shall I be affraid of my Old most Intimate Friends? &c. *Holy Com. Pref.* Will you have it now that This Army, your Old, and intimate Friends, did no Hurt to his Majesties Person? And now bethink your self, of your Challenge in the Preface to your Holy Common wealth. [ Prove that the King was the Highest Power, in the time of Divisions, and that he had Power to make this War, which he made, and I will offer my Head to Justice as a Rebell. ] Is not This Destructive of the Kings Power? And is not This a Change of the Fundamental Constitution of the Common-wealth, to say that [ the Members of Parliament considered disjunctly, may be Subjects, but that Conjunctly, as a House or Body, they have the Sovereignty. ] *Holy Com. Pa.* 433. And again, *pa.* 462. [ That the Parliament hath a part of the Legislative Power, ( even of ENACTING, and not only of Proposing ) is undoubted.

An Opposer  
of the Kings  
Power.

And the Fun-  
damental  
Constitution.

He acknow-  
ledgeth the  
Protectors  
Sovereignty.  
And blest  
the Providen-  
ces that  
brought *Richard*  
to the  
Government.

*Ba.* Nay if you go to That *Richard*, I shall call You to Account for your Practices and Propositions too. Do not you remember a certain Dedicatory Epistle, to *Richard Protector*, in your Key for Catholiques, where you have these words? [ Give not leave to every seducer to do his worst to damn mens Souls when you will not Tolerate every Traytor to draw your Armies or PEOPLE into Rebellion. ] And again, [ This is one that rejoyceth in the present happines of England, and honoureth all the Providences of God, by which we have been brought to what we are. ] Do not you here acknowledge *Richard* the Pro-



restors Sovereignty? and blessè all the Providences that have brought matters so Comfortably about?

Ri. Ay, Ay, Baxter; *Thats a Doctrins you taught me in your* Richard had Commowwealth. [ *I am bound to submit to the Present Government,* his Principles aset over us by God, and to Obey for Conscience-sake, and to behave from Baxter. myself as a Loyal Subject towards Them. For a Full and Free *Baxter makes the Protestors Title as good as the Kings.* Parliament hath own'd it, and so there is notoriously the Consent of the People, which is the Evidence that former Princes had to Justify their Best Titles. Pa. 484. Whereas in Truth neither was This a Free Parliament, nor any Parliament at all; neither was your submission to the present Power, an Act of Conscience, for the same Conscience would have oblig'd you as well to the King, upon the same Grounds.

Ba. In good time *Mr. Richard:* And who taught ye, I wonder your Complements to *Prince Richard* in the *Five disputations*? Where you Addressè your self [ *To His Highnesse, Richard, Lord Protectour of the Common-Wealth of England, Scotland, and Ireland.* ] *Ep. Ded.* And further [ *'Your Zeal for God* *Baxters Addresses to Richard Protector.* *will kindle in your SUBJECTS, a zeal for you. The more* your Life & Government is Divine, the more Divine will you appear; and therefore, the more Amiable, and Honourable to the Good, and Reverend to the Evill. Parliaments will Love and honour you, and abhor the Motions that tend to a Division, or your *Just Displeasure.* Ministers will heartily pray for you, and prayse the Lord for his Mercies by you, and Teach all the People to Love, Honour and Obey you. The People will Rejoyce in you; and you will belov'd or Fear'd of All. Such Happinesse attendeth Serious *Piety,* when Impiety, selfishness, and Neglect of Christ, is the snare and Ruine of Prince and People. I crave your Highnesse Pardon for this Boldness, and your Favourable Acceptance of the Tender'd Service of,

'A Faithfull Subject to your Highness, as you  
'are an Officer of the Universal King,

*Richard Baxter.*

Ri.

**Baxters** Reso-  
lution in three  
Cases, expressly  
to keep out  
the King.

**Ri.** I keep still to my Old Master Doctor of the Aphorisms, [If a Person enter into a military State against the People, and by Them be Conquered, they are not obliged to Restore him, unless there be some other Special Obligation upon them, beside their Allegiance.] *Thef.* 145. And moreover [If the Person dispossess, though it were Unjustly, do afterward become Uncapable of Government, It is not the Subjects duty to seek his Restitution.] *Thef.* 146. And yet again [Whosoever expells the Sovereign, though Injuri.usly, and resolves to revive the Common-Wealth, rather then he shall be restored: and if the Common-Wealth may prosper without his Restauration, It is the Duty of such an Injur'd Prince, for the Common Good to resign his Government; and if he will not, the People ought to Judge him as made Incapable by Providence, and not to seek his Restitution to the Apparent Ruine of the Common-Wealth.] *Thef.* 147.

**Mo.** Praye let me put in a Word betwixt ye. What do you call Incapacity?

**Baxters** Incapacity for Government.

Dominion is founded in Grace.

Want of Power depose a Prince.

**Ba.** [When Providence depriveth a man of his **UNDERSTANDING**, He is *Materia Indisposita*, and Uncapable of Government, though not of the Name.] *Thef.* 135. [If God permits Princes to turn so **WICKED**, as to be Uncapable of Governing, So as is consistent with the Ends of Government, he permits them to depose Themselves.] *Thef.* 136. Again; [If Providence Statedly disable him that was the Sovereign, from the executing of Laws, Protecting the Just, and other Ends of Government, it maketh him an Uncapable Subject of the Power and so depose him.] For a Government so Impotent, is None. A capacity for the Work and Ends is necessary in the Person; and when That ceaseth, the Power ceaseth.] *Hol. Comm. Pag.* 137. 138.

**Ri.** And then you say further, *Thef.* 153. That [Any thing that is a sufficient Sign of the Will of God, that This is the Person, by whom we should be Governed, is enough (as Joyned to Gods Laws) to oblige us to Consent, and Obey him, as our Governour.] Upon which Ground, you your self do Justify all that I have either said, or done, in submission to Richard. And so you do likewise in your *Thesis* 149.

A Case against his Majesties Restauration.

[If the Rightfull Governour be so long dispossessed, that the Common-Wealth can be no longer be without Government, but to the apparent hazzard of it's Ruine, we ought to Judge that Providence has dispos-

first the Former, and presently consent to another. ] We must not say, that [because we cannot have such a man, we'll have none, but be Ungoverned ; This is to break an Express Commandement, and to cast off the Order and Ordinance of God, for a Persons sake. ] P. 162. And then there's another thing ; You put all the Cases that ever you could muster up, against the Kings Return. [If a King (you say) dissolves the Government he can be no Governour. If an Enemy, no King. A destroyer cannot be a Ruler, and Defender ; He proclaimeth Hostility, and is Therefore not to be Trusted. ] Pa. 539. Cases of Forfeiture.

Ba. Well, well? Richard. If you had pleased, you might have found out some other Aphorismes, where I have done as much Right I'm sure to Sovereign Power as any man living. Do Baxter asserts not I say *Thef.* 326. That [It is the Subjects Duty to de-Obedience at fend their Prince, with their Strength, and hazzard of their all hazzards. Lives, against all Forreign and Domestique Enemies, that seek his Life, or Ruine ?]

Ri. If you speak This to the Cause in Question ; how will you come off where you say [If I had known that the Parliament had been the Baxter against the King, though the Parliament had been in the wrong. Beginners ; and in most fault, yet the Ruine of our Trustees, and Representatives, and so of all the Security of the Nation, is a Punishment greater then any fault of theirs against a King, can from him deserve : and That Their faults cannot disoblige me from defending the Common-Wealth. ] Owned not all that ever they did : but I took it to be my Duty to look to the mayn End. And I knew that the King had all his Power for the Common Good, and therefore had none against it ; and Therefore that no Cause can Warrant him, to make the Common-Wealth the Party, which he shall exercise Hostility against. ] Ho. Con. Pa. 480. [ All this seemed plain to me ] And [When I found so many things Conjunct, as Two of the Three Estates against the Will of the King Alone, the Kingdoms Representatives and Trustees assaulted in the Guarding of our Liberties, and the Highest Court defending them against offending Subjects, and seeking to bring them to a Legal Tryal ; and the Kingdoms Safety, and the Common Good, involved in their Cause ( which may be more fully manifested, but that I would not stir too much in the Evils of times past ; ) All these, and many more concurring, perswaded me, that it was Sinfull to be Neutrals, and Treacherous to be against the Parliament in that Cause. ] — [ It were a wonder if so many humble, honest Christians, fearful of sinning, and Praying for

B. does not love to rub old sores. Neutrality a sin, and Treachery to serve the King.

**The praying Rebels against the Loyall Damme's.** *for Direction, should be all mistaken in so weighty a Case, and for many Damme's all in the Right.* ] pa. 481.

**A just way of Deposing a King imply'd.** *Ba. Very Learnedly apply'd. But do not I say Pa. 437. That [if a Parliament would wrong a King, and depose him Unjustly, and change the Government, for which they have no Power, the Body of the Nation may refuse to serve them in it, yea, may forcibly restrayn them? If they Notoriously betray their Trust, not in some Tolerable matters, but in the Fundamentalls, or Points that the Common Good dependeth on, and engage in a Cause that would destroy the Happynesse of the Common-wealth; It is then the Peoples duty to forsake them, and cleave to the King against them, if they be Enemies to the Common-wealth.] Pag. 438.*

**Tho a Prince be injur'd, the people may joyn with his Enemies.** *Ri. Now I beseech ye Mr. Baxter be pleased to Compare pa. 437. with pa. 424. where you lay down This Thesis [ Though some injury to the King be the Occasion of the War, it is the Duty of all the People to defend the Common-wealth against him; Yet so, as that they protest against That Injury.]*

**No Obedience due to an Usurper.** *Ba. But what say ye all this while to the Case of making Court to an Usurper? [When it is Notorious (say I) that where a man has no Right to Govern, People are not bound to Obey him, unlesse by Accident.] Thesis 339.*

**Usurpers must be oppos'd** *Ri. [We desire their Opinion, who think that a strong and prosperous Usurper, may be defended, against the King, or that the King is not to be defended against him, to the hazzard of our Estates, and Lives.] Non-Conf. 2d. part. Pa. 77. [Meer Conquest without Consent, is no Just Title.] Ibid. P. 108. And again, [Usurpers have no True Power, nor do their Commands bind any one in Conscience to formal Obedience: nor may they be set up and defended against the Lawfull Governour.] Pa. 55. [And Those are Usurpers who by Force or Fraud depose the Lawfull Governour and take his place.] Ibid. [If Usurpers claim the Crown, the Subject must Judge which is their King and must defend his Right.] Non-Con. Plea. 70.*

**They have no true power.**

**Who are Usurpers.**

**The people to be Judges.**

**The people may mis-judge.** *Ba. But what if the People shall Mis-Judge? [All things are not destructive to the Common-wealth, that are Judg'd so by Dissenting Subjects.] Holy Com. Pref. [Nor are Subjects allow'd*

allow'd to Resist, whenever they are confident that Rulers *Bast. lame*  
would destroy the Common-wealth. ] *Ibid.* [ Oh how happy *the losse of*  
would the best of Nations under Heaven be, If they had the *the late Ru-*  
Rulers that our Ingratitude hath cast off. ] [ Our old Consti- *les.*  
tution, was King, Lords, and Commons, which we were *Sworn, and*  
sworn and sworn, and sworn again to be faithfull to, and to *sworn to King*  
Defend. The King with-drawing, the Lords and Commons. *Lords and*  
Ruled alone, though they Attempted not the Change of the *Commons.*  
*Species* of Government. Next This, we had the *The Lords &*  
*Major part* of the House of Commons in the Exercise of Sovereign Power, *Commons-*  
the *corrupt* Majority, ( as the Army call'd them ) being cast *rule alone, and*  
out. ] *Ibid.* &c. 'Tis no matter for the Following Revoluti- *the Govern-*  
ons. [ To resist, or depose the *Best Governours* in all the world, *ment not*  
that have the Supremacy, is forbidden to Subjects on point of *changed.*  
Damnation. *Ibid.*

*Baxt.* laments  
the losse of  
the late Ru-  
lers.

Sworn, and  
sworn, to King  
Lords and  
Commons.  
The Lords &  
Commons  
rule alone, and  
the Govern-  
ment not  
changed.

Ri. Fray'e hold' your hand a little Mr. Baxter. If the Govern-  
ment was in King, Lords, and Commons, how came the Two Houses  
to Rule Alone, with an Usurpation? And without changing the  
Species of the Government? or how came we, that you say were  
sworn over and over to all Three, to depose the Head, and Submit to  
the other Two; and to let the Government sink from a Monarchy, into  
an Aristocracy? and why might not the Commons, cast out the  
Lords, and the Army the Commons, as well as the Two Houses  
cast off the King? Especially by your own Comment upon, [ Let every  
Soul be Subject to the Higher Powers. ] Ho. Com. 3Eg. Where  
you expound the Higher Power, to be Intended of the Governours in  
Actual Possession. What hinder'd this Argument from holding, when  
the King was in Actual Possession?

Baxter charg'd  
with contra-  
diction.

The Higher  
Powers are  
the Governours  
in possession.

*Raxte* charg'd  
with contra-  
diction.

The Higher Powers are the Governors in possession.

*Ba.* [A people may give an Honourary Title to the Prince, and not give the same to Others, that have part in the Sovereignty.] [So that *Names* are not the only Notes of Sovereignty. Wherefore one must not Judge of the Power of Princes by their Titles, or Names.] *Ho. Com. Pa.* 432. [The Law saith the King, shall have the Power of the *Militia*, supposing it to be against Enemies, and not against the Common-wealth, nor them that have part of the Sovereignty with him. To Resist him here is not to Resist Power, but Usurpation, and Private Will. In such a Case, the Parliament is no more to be Resisted then he, because they are also the Higher Power.] *Ho. Com.*

'Tis not the  
Name that.

The people  
Judges of the  
King and of  
the Law.

Seize the  
Kings Revenue, and he is  
no longer a  
King

*Pa. 431. And there's more in't yet.* [If a Prince be statelily made a *Begger*, or forsaken, or Ejected by a Conqueror, and so Uncapable of Governing, if it be but *pro Tempore*, the Subjects for That time, (that have no opportunity to Restore him) are disobliged from his Actual Government. [*Pa. 139.*

Inferiour Magistrates still Subjects.

Richard ever True to the Crown.

*Ri. So that the Seizing of a Prince's Revenue, deposes him from his Sovereignty, and discharges his Subjects of their Obedience. That I took [Inferiour Magistrates to be Subjects of the King as well as the meanest men; and to have no more Power to Depose, or take up Arms against him, then other Subjects.] Non-Con. Plea, 2d. part p. 57. And [In all the times of Usurpation, and since, I said, and wrote, that the Kings Person is Inviolable, and to be Judg'd by none, either Peer, or Parliament, and that it is none but Subjects, that they may call to Account, Judge, and Punish.] Pref.*

The Law of Nature is above the Law of the Land.

*Ba. I shall leave [Others to Judge, in what Cases Subjects may Resist Kings by Arms; We shall only Conclude, that no Humane Power can Abrogate the Law of Nature, Non-Con. Plea. 2d. Part Pa. 57.*

Modest Subjects study their own Duty not the Kings.

*Ri. And may not the Two Houses be Resisted by the Law of Nature as well as they opposed the King? [Modest Subjects should rather study what Laws God hath made for Themselves, then what Law he hath made for Kings; and what is their Own duty then what is the Kings:] **Though of this they are not bound to be Ignorant.**]* *Non-Con. Plea, 2d. Part. Pa. 48.*

Sovereign Power not to be restrained by the people.

*Ba. Nay I am as little for Restraining of Sovereign Power as any flesh breathing. [It is not safe or Lawfull for the People to Limit, or Restrain the Sovereign Power, from disposing so far of the Estates of All, as is necessary to the safety of All, which is the End of Government.] Thefis 115. Nay [A Governour cannot Lawfully be Restrained by the People from preserving them.] Thef. 120. [For the Multitude are Covetous, Tenacious, Injudicious, and Incompetent Judges of the Necessities, or Commodity of the Common-wealth.] Pa. 115.*

The Multitude no Judges of Government.

*Ri. But what was it you were saying c'en now of the Best Governours in the World?*



Ba. I was saying, that [the Best Governours in all the World that have the Supremacy have been Resisted or deposed in England. I mean 1. Them that the Army called the *Corrupt Majority*: or an Hundred Forty and Three Imprison'd, and Secluded Members of the Long Parliament, who, as the *Majority*, had, you know what power. 2. The Powers that were last layd by. I should with great Rejoycing give a Thousand Thanks to That man, that will acquaint me of One Nation upon all the Earth, that hath better Governours in Sovereign Power (as to Wisdome and Holyness Conjunct) then those that have been Resisted, or deposed in England. *Ho. Com. Pref.*

The Secluded Members and the two Cromwells the best Governours.

Ri. You Speak of the Secluded Members, and the Two Cromwells. But they all came in by Violence; And [I know none of the Non-Conformists that take it not for Rebellion, to pull down or set up forcibly by the Sword, any thing against the Supreme Ruler, or Without him] R. Bs. Letter to Mr. Hinckly. Pa. 83.

Rebellion to oppose the supreme Rulers.

Ba. [The Parliament did Remonstrate to the Kingdom, the danger of the Subversion of Religion, and Liberties, and of the Common Good and Interest of the People whose Trustees they were] *Ho. Com. Pa. 471.* And [If a Nation Regularly chuse a Representative Body, of the most Noble, Prudent, Interested Members, to discern their dangers and the Remedies, and preserve their Liberties and Safety, the People themselves are to discern These Dangers, and Remedies by THEIR eyes.]

The Parliament told us our danger.

*Thes. 356.* And I think [it was time for us to believe a Parliament concerning our Danger, and Theirs, when we heard so many Impious persons rage against them] *Pa. 472.* [The Irish professing to raise Arms for the King, to defend his Prerogative and their own Religion against the Parliament. I say, in such a time as This, we had Reason to believe our entrusted Watchmen, that told us of the danger, and no Reason to suffer our Lives and Libertyes to be taken out of their Trust, and wholly put into the hands of the King. We had rather of the two, be put upon the Inconvenience of Justifying our Defence, then to have been Butcher'd by Thousands, and fall into such hands as Ireland did.] *Pa. 473.* But [all the Wars that have been since the Opposition to the Parliament, and Violence done to the Person of the King: were far from being own'd by the Com-

And we were bound to see with Their Eyes.

The King himself opposed and *Buxley* resolved to justify it.

mon Sort of the *Now Non-Conformists, &c.* ] *Non-Conf. Elea. Pa.* 138.

**A** Fundamen-  
tal destroy'd.  
*Ri. You were saying a while agoe as I remember, that a Parlia-  
ment that destroys Fundamentals, is an Enemy to the Common  
Wealth, and the People ought to oppose them. Pray's Say: Is  
not the Freedome and Right of the Electors; as much a Fundamen-  
tal, as the Priviledge, and Trust of the Electeds? How comes it  
then that you propound the Reducing of Elections to the Faithfull,  
honest Upright men, ] &c. Pref. to the Ho. Com.*

*Exeter de-  
fends it.  
Parliaments  
may be cor-  
rupt.*

*Ba. Let me speak afterwards of the Necessity, and of the  
Utility of This Cause.*

1. [ It is known that Parliaments *quà Tales*, are not Divine,  
Religious, Protestant, or Just. The Six Articles by which the  
Martyrs were burnt, were made by a Parliament. All the  
Laws for the Papal Interests in the days of Popery, have been  
made by them. They have often Followed the Wills of Princes  
to and fro, and therefore they are not Indefectible, nor im-  
mutable, as such. *Ho. Com. Pa.* 243.

*Instances of  
Parliamentary  
Corrup-  
tions.*

*Mo. Very right ; and all the late Orders and Ordinances for  
Sequestering Crown and Church-Revenues, Commitments,  
Plunders, Decimations and the like, were made by that which  
you call a Parliament. But see now in what a Condition These  
people must be, that sees with the Parliaments Eyes, in case  
of such Parliaments, as you suppose : and the Remedy you pre-  
scribe, is worse then the disease ; for take away the Freedome  
of Choyce, and the Persons Chosen are a Faction rather then a  
Parliament.*

*Votes may be  
carried by Fa-  
ction.*

*Ba. 2. [ It is known that there are Mambbers of Various  
minds in them all, and sometime, the miscarrying Party is so  
strong, that by a few more voices they might bring Misery on  
the Common-wealth. ] Ibid.*

*As appears to  
our cost.*

*Mo. This we have found in severall cases upon Experiment;  
to the Ruine of three Kingdomes.*

*The major  
part of Ele-  
ctors are ill  
men.*

*Ba. 3. [ It is well known that in most parts, the Major-  
Vote of the Vulgar that are Chusers are Ignorant, selfish, of  
Private*

Private Spirits, ruled by money, and therefore by their Landlords, and other Great and Powerful men, and withall, they are bitterly distasted against the Serious, diligent Practice of Religion, according to the Rules of Christ.] *Ibid.*

4. [It is therefore apparent, that if they had their Liberty, And will chuse  
They would chuse such as are of their minds; and it was by Providence, and Accident that heretofore they did not so.] *Ibid.* others like themselves,

*Mo.* Here's a Compendious Model Mr. *Baxter* of your Project [for the due Regulation of the Electours, and Elections of Parliament] *Thef.* 211. First, you propound to take away from the People of *England*, their Ancient, and Undoubted Right of Chusing their own Representatives. 2. to Unqualify all the Nobility, Gentry, and Commonalty of the Land that are Well Affected to the Government of Church and State. And 3ly. To Pack a Faction under the name of a Parliament of your own Leaven. Or if that will not doe, 'tis but employing the Rabble again to give the House a swinging Purge, and you are at your Journeys End. Proceed.

*Baxter's* model for Regulation of Elections. The Peoples Right of Election taken away by partial qualifications. A Faction packt under the name of a Parliament.

*Ba.* 5. [It is certain, that the Wars, the Change of Church-Government, and Forms of Worship, the Differences of Religious men, and the many Sects that have lately risen up among us, and the strict Laws of Parliament about the Lords day, &c. and Specially their Taxes, have deeply discontented them, and exasperated them against such as they think have caused these, so that many would now purposely design Their Ruine.] *Ibid.* In fine, [Without Regulating Elections, what Probability is there, but the next that is chosen by a Majority of Votes, with absolute Freedom, will undoe all that hath been done; and be revenged to the full on all that were so odious to them, and Settle our Calamity by a Law?

The People are disoblig'd, and not trusted with chusing their own Representative,

*Mo.* This is a more Candid Account Mr. *Baxter*, then you Intended it. For the People may well be allow'd to have Cursted the Authours of those bloody Broyles; The Prophaning of our Temples; The suppressing of our Church-Government, and Liturgy, the Propagating of so many Sects and Schisms; and bringing the Nation to Grone under Their Taxes, like the Ass under the Burthen. But how is That the Peoples Representative, that Shuts the people out of the Election, and acts

The people sick of their Representative.

both Without, and Against their Consent? The Tenth part of this encroachment upon the Common Liberty, from the King, would have been Cry'd out against, as Arbitrary And Tyrannicall. But what way would you direct for the Limiting of the Qualifications?

The Pastors  
to approve of  
the Electors.

*Pa.* [ Let all Pastors in *England*, that are Approved, have an Instrument of Approbation, and all that are Tolerated, an Instrument of Toleration; and let no man be a chuser or a Ruler that holdeth not Communion with an Approved or Tolerated Church, and is not signify'd under the Pastors hand, to be a Member thereof. ] *Thef.* 219.

The Empire of  
Presbytery.

*Mo.* A most excellent Invention to advance the Empire of Presbytery, and enslave all other degrees and Perswasions of men whatsoever.

The Petition  
and Advice  
concerning  
Elections.

*Baxters* ad-  
mirable Expe-  
dient.

*Ba.* [ The Humble Petition and Advice determineth, that under the Penalty of a Thousand pounds, and Imprisonment till it be paid, no person be Elected and sit in Parliament but ] *[ Such as are persons of known Integrity, fear God, and of Good Conversation. They are sworn also for Fidelity to the Protector, &c. ]* A more excellent Act hath not been made, for the happynesse of *England*, concerning Parliaments, at least, since the Reformation. ] *Ho. Com.* 257. 258.

His qualifica-  
tions accepted.

The Pharisee  
and the Pub-  
lican,

*Mo.* But what is it that you mean by this *Known Integrity*? or who are to be the *Judges* of it? I take That man that Publickly Sacrifices his Life, his Fortune, his Family, and his Freedom to the service of his Prince and Countrey, according to the Law, to be a man of *Known Integrity*: and him that Acts in opposition to the Law, and to his duty, to be clearly the contrary. I take the *Publican*, that smites his breast, and crys, *Lord be merciful unto me a sinner*; to have more of the *Fear of God* in him, then the *Pharisee*, that *Prays* in the *Markes Place*, and thanks God that he is not as Other men are: And I take him to be of as Good a *Conversation*, that submits quietly to the Rules of the Government; Reverences Authority, and contents himself with his Lawful Lot, As he is that values himself upon Outbraving Publique Order, Reviling his Betters; Living upon the spoil, and devouring the Bread of the Oppressed.

[ What

What would you say now to the turning of the Tables, and setting up of your *Qualifications* on the other side? and to the Kings excluding of the Non-Conformists by an Oath of Fidelity to himself, as your *Richard* [excluded delinquents in the late Editions.] *Ho. Com. P. 244.* [So that the People durst not go according to their Inclinations.] *Ibid.* But why do I argue from your *Practises*, when your *Positions* do naturally leade to the same undutyfull Ends?

What if the King should take upon him so?

Ba. [My dull Brain could never find out any one point of difference in *Theology*, about the *Power* of Kings, and the *Duty* of Obedience in the People, between the Divines called *Presbyterians*, and *Episcopal*. If you know any, name them me, and tell me your *Proofs*. *R.B's. Letter to Mr. Hinckly,*] *Pa. 26.*

Baxter findes Presbyterian and Episcopal Loyalty the same.

Ri. 'Tis a *Confounding* of your *Metaphysicks* methinks with your *Politiques*, to talk of *Points* of *Theology*, in matters of *Civil Power* and *Obedience*; without distinguishing between our *Credenda* and *Agenda*, *Notion* and *Practice*; *Supernaturall Truths* and *Moral Duties*. And why [The Divines *CALLED* *Presbyterians*] and not rather the *Presbyterian* Divines? For they are not *ALL*, *Presbyterians*, that are so *CALLED*; and there's a great deal of difference betwixt the Principles of *Presbyterian* Divines, as *Presbyterian*, and the Principles of those very *Presbyterians*, as they are ranged under the Banner of a *Civil Interest*. But over and above all This, you have carry'd it a great deal too far, to say that the *Episcopal*, and the *Presbyterian* Divines hold the same Principles in the Point of *King* and *Subject*. You should rather have acknowledg'd the disagreements, and maintain'd the Principle.

Baxter confounds his Metaphysicks with his Politics.

We hold, 1. [That the *Parliament* by the *Constitution*, have part of the *Sovereignty*.] *Ho. Com. Pa. 457.* [2. That the *Sovereignty* is jointly in *King*, *Lords* and *Commons*, as *Three Estates*.] 465. [3. The *Parliament* have a *Power* of *Enacting* *Laws* as well as of *Proposing* them.] *Pa. 462.* Whereas The *Episcopal* Party pronounce the *Sovereignty* to be only in the *King*; 2. They assert the *Kings* sole *Supremacy* in all *Causes*, and over all *Persons*, whatsoever as well *Ecclesiastical*, as *Civill*, and 3. That the two *Houses* have no share at all in the *Sanction*. We hold likewise that It was *Treason* to resist the *Parliament*, as the *Enemy* did, apparently in Order to their *Subversion*.] *Ho. Com. 478.* [That the *Parliament* was the highest *Interpreter*

Presbyterian Positions.

Episcopal Positions.

Presbyt. Position.

*terpreter of Laws that was then Existent, in the Division.* Ibid. And so we find that every step of the Parliamentary War was justified by the Assembly, and the whole Current of the Presbyterian Divines: The Episcopal Clergy Unanimously declaring themselves to the contrary. Who but the Assembly July 19. 43. in the Names of Themselves and Others, to call for the Execution of Justice, on All delinquents? Husband 2d. Vol. of Collections, 241. And who again, Aug. 10. 1643. but The Divines of the Assembly that are Reliants of the Associated Counties, and now Attending the Assembly, are desired to go down into their severall Counties; to stir up the people in Those severall Counties, to rise for their Defence. Ibid. 285. So that in the Main, we differ upon the very Constitution of the Government; the Power of the Prince, the Duty of the Subject, and upon every point of the Parliamentary War: And we are no less divided upon the Scheme of Forms, and Ceremonies.

Episc. Posit.  
The Assembly  
crys out for  
bloud.  
And stir up  
the people,

*Ba.* [Prove that I or any of my Acquaintance ever practis'd Ejection, Silencing, ruining men for things Unnecessary; yea or for Greater things. Whom did we ever forbid to Preach the Truth? Whom did we cast out of all Church-Maintenance? Whom did we Imprison! ] *R. B's. Answ. to Dr. Stillingsfleet. Pa. 97.*

Richard re-  
freshes his  
memory.

*Ri.* You forget your self Brother: and I am for speaking the Truth, though I shame the Devill. Pray look into Mecurius Rusticus his Account of the London Clergy that were Ejected, Silenced, and Ruin'd by Order of Parliament: See his Querela Cantabrigie, for the Heads, Fellows, and Students, of Colledges, that were There Ejected, Plunder'd, Imprison'd, or Banish'd for their Affections to the King, and the Establish'd Religion. Consider that You your self took the liberty to Graze upon another mans Pasture: And all these Violence were carry'd on by your Encouragement, Influenced by your Approbation; and the Principal directors of them, extold to the Skyes, as the [Best Governours for Wisdome and Holynesse,] *Ho. Com. Pref. under the Cope of Heaven.*

Mr. Boxers  
Governours.

A Plot upon  
the Presbyre-  
rians.

*Ba.* But however, [Either they must prove that we hold Rebellious Principles, or they shew that they do but in Plot accuse us.]



I know very well that [ *The Transposer Rehears'd*, Pa. 48. saith Mr. Baxter in his *Holy Common-wealth* mayntaineth that he ( the King ) may be called to Account by any Single Peer. ] [ Must we say nothing to such bloudy slanders ? Never such a Thought was in my mind, nor word spoken or Written by me. But: all is a meer False-Fiction : Nay in all the times of Usurpation, and Since, I said and Wrote, that the Kings Person is *Inviolable*, and to be Judg'd by none, either *Peer*, or *Parliament*; and that it is none but Subjects that they may call to accompt, and Judge, and Punish; and that neither the King may destroy or hurt the Kingdome, nor the Kingdome the King, ( much lesse a Peer ) but their Union is the Kingdomes Life. And the very Book *Accus'd*, goeth on such Principles, and hath not a word meet to tempt a man in his Witts to This Accusation. Judge now by this one Instance, and by the Cry of the *Plotters* now against Us, [ *Catiline* ( *Cethegum*, ) seeking our destruction, and the Parliaments, as suppos'd to favour us ( which for ought I know never did any thing for our Relief, or Ease ) whether it be meet, that I should dye in silence under such horrid Accusations : Against which I appeal to the Great and Righteous Judge, before whom I am shortly to appear, begging his Pardon and Reforming Conviction wherever I Erre. ] Apr. 16. 1680. *Non-Com. Plea*, 2d Part. *Preface*. last Page.

Abloody  
slander.

Alas! the Ho.  
Com. a most  
Innocent  
Book.

Mr. Baxter  
lies under  
horrid Accu-  
sations.

*Mo.* Be not so Transported Mr Baxter at the bloudy Slander, as you call it: for the very excusing of your self after This Manner, falls heavier upon you, then the Accusation it self. There was a Gentleman of a Good Family, that had Stol'n a *Silver-Spoon*; and it was layd home to him, as a mighty Aggravation of the Crime, that a man of his Quality could let himself so low, as to pilfer for such a *Trifle*. Ay Sir, Says he, you say very Right, if That had been All; But in good Faith Sir, my Aym was at the *Great Tankard*, If it had been a *Single Peer*, it had been indeed a bloudy Slander; But your Ayme was the calling of the King to an Account, by the Authority of the *Two Houses*. And then you are pleas'd to bless God for the next Change that call'd Them to Account too: for you give Any Govern- the *Two Usurpers* much better Words, then any you could af- ment but the- ford to the *Lords Annoynted*. You call Them the *Higher Powers*, Right. and enjoyn Obedience to Them upon the pain of *Damnation*; which is a Favour you would never allow to his Late Majesty.

Any.

Any Government but the Right will down with ye, and Still That which was a *Rebellion* in the *Enterprize*, proves to be a *Providence* in the *Execution*.

A King is a  
name of Res-  
pect not  
Power.

The Kings  
Authority  
made precari-  
ous.

And under  
several Inca-  
pacities.

But do you say *Mt Baxter*, that you have always asserted the *Kings Person* to be *Inviolable*, &c. and that the very *Book accused goeth on such Principles*? Why then it is no hurt to the *King*, to be *Assaulted*, *despoyl'd* of his *Regalirts*; *Deposed*, *Imprisoned*, *Try'd*, *Condemn'd* and *Executed*. For the *King* you say is but a *Title of Respect*, not a *Character of Power*: a *Nominal*, *Empty businesse*. A kinde of *Dignity*, *Party-perpale*, *Half-Prince*, *half-Subject*; and 'tis but taking him on the *Popular side*, and you may do what you will with him. This is the *Chimera* of a *Prince*, according to your *Aphorismes*: A kind of *Mock-Majesty* set up, for every *Seditious Libertine* to throw a *Cudgell* at. You make his *Authority* to be so *Conditional*, and *Precarious*, that he is upon his good behaviour for his *Crown*. If his *Administration* be not answerable to the *Ends of Government*: If he wants either *Power*, or *Money*, or *Grace*, or *Understanding*; or (which is worst of All) If the *Licentious Rabble* will but say, that he wants This, or That, hee's gone, and *Deposed*, *ipso facto*, as an *Unqualifi'd Person*. For according to your *Thyfis*, The *Multitude* are to be the *Judges of These Incapacities*. It is a hardy *Adventure*, *M. Baxter* (unless you can make *Alamacks*) to set up such *Positions* as These, at This time of day. 'Tis True, They were printed in *Fifty-nine*, But they are now *Resum'd*, and *Avow'd* in *Eighty*. But your *Patience* yet a little further Sir.

Baxters Hor-  
rid Accusa-  
tion.

His Character  
of our Church-  
men.

Is it such a *Horrid Accusation*, to say that *Mr Baxter Maintains the King*, may be call'd to *Account* by a *Single Peer*? Consider first, that it is a *Church-man* charges it upon you, and you are before-hand with him: for you have over and over, set forth Those of the *Church-way* (without exception either of *King*, *Lords*, or *Commons*) to be a *Crew of Superstitious, Formal, Prophane Wretches* that out of a meer *Enmity to Godlynesse*; set themselves in *Opposition* to the ways of *Christ*. Take notice again, if you have not deliver'd the *Doctrine* aforesaid in express Terms, It is already made appear that you have said as much as That amounts to. And over and above the *Whymies* of your *Aphorismes*; your *Thirteenth Chapter*, of the *Late Wars* is one of the *Rudest* and the *falsest* pieces of *Calumny* against the *Late King*, that I know anywhere Extant.

Your

Your Appeal upon *This One Instance* ( as you call it ) for *Equity of Judgement*, and *Liberty of Speech*, would move the very Stones in the Walls, to give you a Hearing. And yet if, I had been of your Counsell Mr. *Baxter*, you should have be- thought your self, before you *Exclaim'd*, whether the En- quiry into the Subject-matter of your Complaint, might not possibly lay open something that was worse, As un- doubtedly it has; for *This Holy Commonwealth* of yours, is a kind of (send me well deliver'd of the Word) a kind of *Theologi- co-Political Whole-Sale Shop*; and furnished with *Cases*, of all Sorts and Sizes. for the *Consciences* of the *Weak*, and the *Pre- tensions* of the *Malitious*. In One Case, the King is *Dispossest* by *Providence*; In another, he is *deposed* for *Incapacity*; In a Third, he must not so much as dare to *Return*, even-if the *Door* wer set open to him: In Such or such a case, the *People* are bound *not* to Re-admit him; and in such another, they may if they *please*, but they are not oblig'd to't: and every one of These Cases, Calculated for this very Poynt, which was at That Time in Agitation. Infomuch, that the *Appli- cation* of your Arguments was yet more Criminal then the *Error* of them.

*Baxters dam-  
nable Cases of  
Conscience,*

But what doye mean, I beseech ye, by the *Cry of the Plot- ters against ye*? As if they knew their Friends no better then *Baxt. dreams of a Plot up-  
on him.* So. Their business is the *Subversion* of the *Government*, and of the *Protestant Religion*, that falls with it. What should they cry out for against the *Separatists*, that are all this while, doing the *Papists business* to their hands? The Kings Wittnesses Speak no such matter; but on the Contrary; that the Priests and Jesuits make use of the *Schismatiques* toward our Com- mon Ruine. So that by *Plotters* in This place *Mr. Baxter*, it is Intended ( I presume, ) according to your Wonted Be- nignity) not the *Popish Plotters*, but the *Episcopal Plotters* a- gainst ye; which (as you would gladly have the World to believe) *Seek your Destruction*, and the *Parliaments*, as suppos'd to *Favour ye* &c. Now to my thinking, the *Parliaments Destruction*, and *Ours*, would have run every jot as well, as *Our De- struction* and the *Parliaments*. Beside that it is not yet come to That Pass I hope, that *Parliaments*, and *Schismatiques*, must *Stand or fall together*. Neither can I imagine why This Par- liament should be suppos'd more Inclina- ble to favour ye, then former

*The Cart be-  
fore the Horse*

former Parliaments have been. The Reasons for *Uniformity* are the same now that ever they were; and the same, *Here*, as in *other Places*. And then the boldness, and Importunity of the Dividers encrease the necessity of the Injunction. If you have forgotten the *Commons Votes*, and *Adresse* of Feb 25. 1662. upon This Subject, Pray let me remember you of them.

Resolved, &c. Nemine Contradicente.

Votes for Uniformity.

That the humble Thanks of This House, be returned to his Majesty, for his Resolution to maintain, the *Act* of Uniformity.

Resolved, &c.

That it be presented to the Kings Majesty, as the humble Advice of the House, that no Indulgence be granted to the dissenters from the *Act* of Uniformity.

For these Reasons.

Reasons against Toleration.

1. It will establish Schisme, by a Law, and make the whole Government of the Church Precarious, and the Censures of it, of no moment or Consideration at all.

2. It will no way become the Gravity or Wisdom of a Parliament to passe a Law at One Session for Uniformity, and at the next Session, (the Reasons of Uniformity continuing still the Same,) to passe Another Law to frustrate, or Weaken the Execution of it.

3. It will expose your Majesty to the Restlesse Importunity of every Sect or Opinion, and of every single person also, who shall presume to Dissent from the Church of England.

4. It will be a cause of encreasing Sects, and Sectaries, whose Numbers will weaken the true Protestant Religion so far, that it will at least be difficult for it, to defend it self against them. And which is yet further Considerable, those Numbers which by being Troublesome to the Government, find they can arrive to no Indulgence, will as their Numbers encrease, be yet more Troublesome, that so at length they may arrive to a General Toleration; which your Majesty hath declar'd against; and in time, some prevalent Sect, will at last contend for an Establishment, which for ought can be fore-seen, may end in Popery.

5. It is a thing altogether without Precedent, and will take away all means of Convicting Recusants, and be inconsistent with the Method, and Proceedings of the Laws of England.

Lastly, It is humbly conceived, that the Indulgence Proposed will be so far from tending to the Peace of the Kingdome, that it is rather likely to Occasion great Disturbance. And on the Contrary; that the Asserting of the Laws, and the Religion Established, according to the Act of Uniformity, is the most probable means to produce a settled Peace, and Obedience throughout your Kingdome: Because the Variety of Professions in Religion, when openly divulged, doth directly distinguish men into Parties, and will give them opportunity to count Their Numbers; which considering the Animosities that out of a Religious Pride will be kept on foot, by the severall Factions, doth tend directly, and Inevitably to open disturbance.

Nor can your Majesty have any security, that the Doctrine or Worship of the severall Factions, which are all govern'd by a severall Rule, shall be Consistent with the Peace of your Kingdome.

And if any Persons shall presume to disturb the Peace of the Kingdome, We do in all Humility declare, that we will for ever and in all Occasions, be ready with our utmost Endeavours, and Assistance, to adhere to, and serve your Majesty, according to our bounden Dnty, and Allegiance.

Only one Word more: and That must be to tax you with Infinite Ingratitude; in saying, that [Parliaments, for ought you know, never did any thing for your Relief or Ease] what do ye think of the Act of Indemnity, I beseech ye? Was it Nothing? to give you your Lives, Liberties, and Estates again, when all was Forfeited? Nay and it is come to that Point now too; that those very Instruments that were forgiven by the King, for the Ruin of the Church and Three Kingdoms, will not at this day forgive his Majesty, for Endeavouring according to the Advice of his Parliament, to Re-establish and Preserve them.

Ri. If you would understand us aright, you must repair to our [Declarations, Professions, Commissions, National Oaths and Covenants,] and the Like. Ho, Com. Pag. 477. And pray Observe the Tenor of our Stile, Adresse. Protestations, and other Proceedings.

Mr Baxters!  
Ingratitude.

How to understand the  
Presbyterians.

Words. [Your Majesties most Humble, and Loyal Subjects, the Lords and Commons, Dec. 14. 1641. [Most Humble and Faithful Subjects,] Dec. 15. [Most Humble and Obedient Subjects,] Exact Collections. Pa. 2.

Practises. Mo. And now put That Libellous Remonstrance of Dec. 15. in the Scale against Three or Four Words of Course, of the same date.

Words. Ri. *The Knights, Citizens, and Burgessees of the House of Commons, your Faithful and Loyall Subjects, &c.* Ibid. Pa. 44. Dec. 31. 1641.

Practises. Mo. This was a Message to his Majesty for a Guard, which the King most graciously offer'd them, but One of his Chusing it seems would not do the Businesse.

Words. Ri. [Your most faithful and Obedient Subjects, the Lords and Commons in this Present Parliament.] &c. Ibid. Pa. 65. Jan. 29.

Practises. Mo. They Petition'd to have the Tower of London, and all other Forts, and the whole Militia of the Kingdom to be FORTHWITH put into the hands of such Persons, as both Houses should Recommend, &c, Ex. Coll. Jan. 29. 1641. And what did his Majesty now get by the Complement ?

Words. Ri. [Your Humble and Loyal Subjects, the Lords and Commons,] &c. Ibid. Feb. 22. 1641. Pa. 80.

Practises. Mo. His Majesties Humble and Loyal Subjects, are pleas'd to declare in this Petition ; that if the King does not Instantly grant them their Petition about the Militia, they are bound by the Laws of God and man to take the Militia into their own hands.

Words. Ri. *Your Majesties most Loyal, and Obedient Subjects, the Lords and Commons,] &c.* lb. Mar. 1. 1641. Pa. 92.

Practises. Mo. In this Petition they threaten to dispose of the Militia by the Authority of the Two Houses. They Order his Majesty where to dispose of his Person : and absolutely deny the Kings Power of the Militia, but by Authority and consent of Parliament.



Ri. Your most Dutiful and Loyal Subjects, the Lords and Commons, ] &c. 1b. 138. Apr. 1642. Your Majesties most Loyal and Faithful Subjects, the Lords and Commons, &c. ] 1b. Apr. 8. 1642. Pa. 141.

Mo. Very Good! And the Former of These was for Leave to remove the Magazin at Hull, to the Tower of London: And the Other was to divert the King from going into Ireland to suppress the Irish Rebellion: (which had certainly been done) and to tell him, that if he went contrary to the Advice of his Parliament, They were resolved, in his Absence, not to submit to any Commissioners he should appoint: but to preserve, and Govern the Kingdome by the Counsell and Advice of Parliament. ] &c.

Ri. Your Majesties Loyal Subjects the Lords and Commons in Words: his Parliament. ] Ibid. 258. May 1642.

Mo. Here His Majesties Loyal Subjects presse the King to disband his Troops at York, or otherwise they'll take the Quiet of the Kingdome into their own Care. And passe These following Votes.

### Resolved upon the Question.

1. That it appears that the King (seduced by wicked Counsells) intends to make War against the Parliament. &c.
2. That whensoever the King maketh War upon the Parliament, it is a Breach of the Trust reposed in him by his People, Contrary to his Oath, and tending to the Dissolution of This Government.
3. That whosoever shall serve, or Assist him in such Wars, are Traitors to the King, by the Fundamental Laws of this Kingdome, and have been so adjudg'd by Two Acts of Parliaments, and ought to suffer as Traitors. ] &c.

Ri. Your Majesties most humble and Faithful Subjects, the Lords and Commons in Parliament. ] &c. 1b. Jun. 2. 1642. Pa. 307.

Mo. This was the Petition that Accompanied the Nineteen Propositions: demanding from the King [ the discharge of all his Ministers and Embassadors, and none to be taken into their Places but what the Parliament shall approve. That all matters of State may be transacted only in Parliament; the Privy Counsell to be by Them approved from time to time and supply'd. All Great Officers to be Chosen by the Parliament. ]

their Approbation: They to have the Education of the Kings Children, and the Choyce of their Servants. No March to be treated of without them. A Reformation of Church-Government and Liturgy to be contrived by their Advice: The Militia to be settled in them till settled by a Bill; and all Proclamations against it to be recalled. New Oaths for Privy Councillors, and Judges. All Judges and Officers to hold their Places, *Quamdiu se bene Gesserint*: Parliament-Ju-  
stice upon all Delinquents. An Amnesty with such exceptions as the Parliament shall advise. All Forts and Castles under Governours approved by Parliament. All Forces to be Disbanded; and a Prohibition of any Peers hereafter to be made, from Sitting or Voting in Parliament, without the Consent of Both Houses. ] Are not these the Propositions think ye, of Most Humble and Faithful Subjects?

Words:

Ri. To our Majesties Loyal Subjects, the Lords and Commons in Parliament, Ibid. Sept. 24. 1642. Pa. 617.

Practises.

Mo. His Majesties Loyal Subjects had now sent the Earl of Essex to fall upon the Kings Army, and desired his Majesty to leave them and come to his Parliament: And they Petition'd his Majesty to the same Purpose again. Pa. 630. And so as the Humour took them, to the very Treaty at the Isle of Wight: But whether These were the Actions of Rebels, or Loyall Subjects, be you your self the Judge.

Words,

Ri. Well, But what say ye to the Stile of [ We your Humble and Loyal Subjects of both Kingdomes. ] Appendix to Husbands Ex. Coll. 2d. Part. Fol. 22. Jan. 13. 1645.

Practises:

Mo. These were the Humble, and Loyal Subjects, that, in the same Paper, Refused his Majestys Proffer of a Personal Treaty with Them at Westminster. [ Your Majesty ( say they ) desires the Engagement, not only of the Parliament, but of the Lord Mayor, Aldermen, Common-Councill and Militia of the City of London; the Chief Commanders of Sir. Tho. Fairfaxes Army, and Those of the Scots Army; which is against the Privileges and Honour of the Parliament, those being Joyn'd with them, who are Subject and Subordinate to their Authority.

Their Professions,

At the same rate they Proceeded in Their Professions; [ They desire only to Lay a Foundation of Honour, Safety, and Happiness to the Kings Person and Throne. ] Ex. Coll. dec. 14. 1641. [ The Greatness

*Greatnesse and Prosperity of his Majesty, and his Royal Posterity.* ]  
1b. Dec. 15. Pa. 2. [ *His Majestys greatnesse and Honour* ] 1b. Mar.

1. 41. Pa. 94. [ *Honour and greatnesse* ] Mar. 2. P. 102. [ *Honour,  
Safety, and Prosperity of your Majesty* ] Mar. 16. P. 118. [ *We seek  
nothing but your Majesties Honour* ] Mar. 15. P. 123. [ *The Safety of  
his Majesties Person, and his Royal Posterity* ] May 5. 42. Pa. 173.  
[ *Our most Dutyfull care for the Safety of your Royal Person* ] May 9.  
P. 180. [ *For the Preserving and Mayntaining the Royal Honour,  
Greatnes, and Safety of your Majesty, and Posterity.* ] Jan. 2. 42. P.

310. And then see their Remarkable Protestation of Octob. 22.  
1642. [ *We the Lords and Commons in this present Parliament Assem-*

*bled, do in the Presence of Almighty God, for the Satisfaction of our* In the pre-  
*Conscience, and the Discharge of That Great Trust which lyes* Almighy.

*upon us, make this Protestation and Declaration to The Kingdome  
and Nation, and to the whole World ; That no Private Passion or Re-  
spect, no Evill Intention to his Majestys Person, no design to the Pre-  
judice of his Just Honour and Authority, Engaged us to rayse Forces,  
and take up Arms against the Authours of This War, wherewith the  
Kingdome is now Enflamed ] Ibid. Pa. 663. [ Without any Intention*

*or desire, ( as we do here professe before the Ever-living God ) to hurt,* A Rebellion  
*or Injure his Majesty, Either in his Person, or Just Power. ] b. P. 666.* in the Name of  
the everlast-  
ing God.

I could give you Instances of this kind, without End, and as  
many, of the gross and Unquestionable violations of These Pro-  
fessions ; For every Order they past, and every Pistol that they  
Fired, was a poynt-blank Contradiction, to their Pretensions. Beside  
that in the same Breath, they Usurped all the Regalities of the  
Crown, and yet Wrote Themselves, *His Majesties most Obedient*  
SUBJECTS. So that This Stile of Loyalty was at the same time *Covenant.*  
a Blind to the Well-meaning Multitude, and a Note of *Loyalty.* *Confederacy*  
among Themselves : a Loyal Subject, according to the Covenant,  
Importing, in plain Terms, a Traytor, in the eye of the Law. And  
yet the Cause, and the Obligation of this Covenant, and the Pro-  
ceedings upon it, are openly Asserted at This very day.

Ba. Yes, yes ; There's The *Counterminer*, the *Popish Dialogue*, Slanders upon  
and many others, that continue lowdly to Accuse us, and make the harm's  
men believe that we are *Plotting* a new War, and that our *Prin-* Presbyterians,  
*ciples are Rebellions &c. ] Non Conf. Plea. 2d Part. Pref.*

Mo. What do ye think of maintaining, that [ *Whatsoever the Presbyterians  
Two Houses declare for Law, must pass for Law, without Controut,* Positions,  
both

both upon King and People ] *Ex. Coll.* 297. [ *That they may do what ever they please* ] *Ibid.* [ *That the Major Part of Both Houses are the absolute Masters of the Lives and Liberties of the Subject?* ] *Ibid.* [ *That no member of the House of Commons be medled with for Treason, Felony &c. Without Leave of the House.* ] *Ibid.* [ *That the Sovereignty resides in the two Houses, and that the King has no Negative Voice* ] *Ibid.* [ *That there lyes no Treason against the Person of the King.* ] *Ibid.* [ *That the Two Houses may Depose the King and not be blamed for so doing.* ] *Ibid.*

Mr. Baxters  
best Gover-  
nors in the  
world.

Now in calling Those people that did all This, [ *The Best Governors in the World* ] as in the Preface to your *Holy Commonwealth*: And in Vindicating That Book, from any Principles of Disloyalty toward the *Person of the King*, as you do, toward the close of your Preface as to the 2d. Part of the *Non-conformists Plea* *Apri.* 16. 1680. What is This, but the *Asserting of Rebellious Principles?* And the *Preaching of the old Doctrine* to the people over again, What Is it but the *Preface to another War?*

The Innocent  
Non-Confor-  
mists.

Ba. [ *What have we done these Twenty years against the King or State? Unless it be our Crime to live under Reproach, and Scorn, and Poverty. and sometime Imprisonments; and never once so much as Petition a Parliament, either to Pity us, or to Hear us once Speak for our Selves &c.* ] *Ibid.* If any Odd persons, or whosoever have said or done any thing against the King or Kingdome, or their Neighbours Right or Peace, or have been Guilty of any Fraud, Drunkenness, Perjury or Immorality besides their Unavoidable Non-conformity, let them be punisht as the Law requires, but let not the Innocent, yea Thousands be Slandered, and Designed to Destruction for Them. ] *Ibid.*

The principles of the  
Late Rebellion  
on revived.

Mo. If you Speak of the Nonconformists, they have justifi'd, from Sixty to Eighty, all the Indignities that were put upon the Government, from Forty, to Sixty: and there is not any one Seditious, or Schismatical Principle of the Old Stamp, which they have not afresh, Reviv'd, and Recommended to the People. And for the Moderation you boast of, I dare be answerable to produce almost as many Hundreds of Clamorous Libels against Authority from the Dissenting Party, as you reckon Years of Silence, and Forbearance. But these are ODD Persons you say; and so is every Dissenter in the Kingdom: for Ten Millions of men, are but as so many Individuals, when disincorporate, and Lopp'd off from the Body. If I durst be so bold Sir, I should venture to

Mr. Faxters  
Odd persons.

by that Mr. Baxter himself is one of the **ODDEST** persons that I know in the whole Party. You have *First*, a *Perswasion*, to your self; for you are neither a *Presbyterian*, nor an *Independent*, nor an *Anabaptist*, nor of any *Tribe* of the *Division* that ever yet had a *Name* to be known by; but a pure *Original*, and a *Christian* of your own making: You have *Secondly*, as *Peculiar* a *Conscience* too; that had rather leap a *Precipice*, then keep the *Kings* high-way. It rises and falls like a *Weather-Glasse*, upon Change of *Ayre*: and makes *St. Paul* blow *Hot* or *Cold* at pleasure: [ *Let every soul be Subject to the Higher Powers* ] requires *Obedience* to *Dick Cromwell*, upon pain of *Damnation*, and *Disobedience* to *Charles the First*, upon the same penalty, ( as we have had it already.) And then you have this further Advantage, Mr. Baxter Sir, that you are your own *King*, and your own *Pope*; you Pre- his o n King scribe your own *Laws*, and Grant your own *Pardons*. and Pope.

*Dr.* You may prate as long as you will. [ *I am against the Im- posing of Mystical Ceremonies, as Crossing, or Surplice* ] &c. *Five Baxters A- Diss. Pa. 467. [ For to Impose new Symbolicall Rites upon the gument a- Church, which Christ hath not Imposed, doth seem to me an Usurpa- gainst Cere- monies. tion of his Sovereign Power. ] Ibid. [ And to accuse Christ of Ignorance, or Negligence, in that he himself hath not Imposed them. ] And so doth it imply an Accusation of his Laws, and of the Holy Scriptures, as if they were Insufficient, ] Ibid. 468. [ And These Im- positions seem to be plain Violations of These Prohibitions of God, in which we are forbidden to Add to his Worship, or diminish FROM IT. ] 469. And moreover; [ *God hath already given us so perfect a Directory for his Worship, that there is nothing more. that we can reasonably desire.* ] Ib. 481.*

*Ri.* Now for my part, I am for the *Amiable* way. [ *Christians should not be Over-busy in Prying into the work of their Governours; nor too forward to suspect their determinations.* ] [ *The Duty of O- The Case well- beying them being Certain; and the Sinsfulness of the thing Com- Resolved, manded, being Uncertain, and Unknown, and only Suspected; we must go on the surer side.* ] Ibid. 484. [ *In disobeying the Law- full Commands of our Superiours, we disobey Christ.* ] Ibid. 485. Be- side that [ *Disobedience in matters of Circumstance, will exclude, and Overthrow the Substance of the Worship it self.* ] Pa. 486.

*Postscript:*

# POSTSCRIPT, To the Reader

**M**R. Baxter has certainly given, in this *Extract*, the best blow to the *Non-conformists* that ever they Read. For there are no *Arguments* against *That Party* like their *Arguments* against *Themselves*. To the clearest Evidences of *Reason*, and *Reason*, they'll oppose *Clamour*, and *Passion*, and make a shift to wriggle themselves *Off* and *On*, with *drawn Texts* and *Riddling distinctions*. But when the very *Interest* comes to play *Fast* and *Loose*, and to *Conscience* with the *Season*, the *Masque* is then taken off, there can be no *Denial* of the *Fact*, so there can be no *Excuse* the *Hypocrisy*. How comes *Toleration* to be a *Sin*, under *Presbyterians*, and a *Duty* under the *Bishops*? How comes *Damnation*, in the case of the *Late King*, and *Richards* well, to *Obey* the *Former*, and *destroy* the *Latter*? Even according to Mr. Baxters own *Exposition*, which is, that by *Higher Powers*, is Intended *Those* in *Actual Possession*? How *Bishops* to be *Antichristian*, at one time, and *Warrantable* at another? Or the *Civil Magistrate* to have more power in *Eccl* matters, under an *Usurper*, then under a *Lawful*? How comes an *Episcopal Uniformity* to be more a *Perfection* than a *Presbyterian*? Or a *Common Prayer-Book* more *Intolerable* than a *Directory*? What can more expose the *Credit* of the *D*, then this *double-dealing* in the *Foreman* of the *Party*? Mr. Baxter Lye down in *One Opinion*, and Rise, in *Another*, Accomodating his *Scruples* to every *Crisis* of *State*? He consummate the *Iniquity* of the *Pretense*; He has no fear, he veigled the *People* into a *Schisme*, but he presently falls with a *Plat-form* of *Sedition*: and having wrought a *Revolution* from the *Ecclesiastical*, he falls to work, in his *Cases* and *risings*, upon the *Foundations* of the *Civil Government*.

The End.